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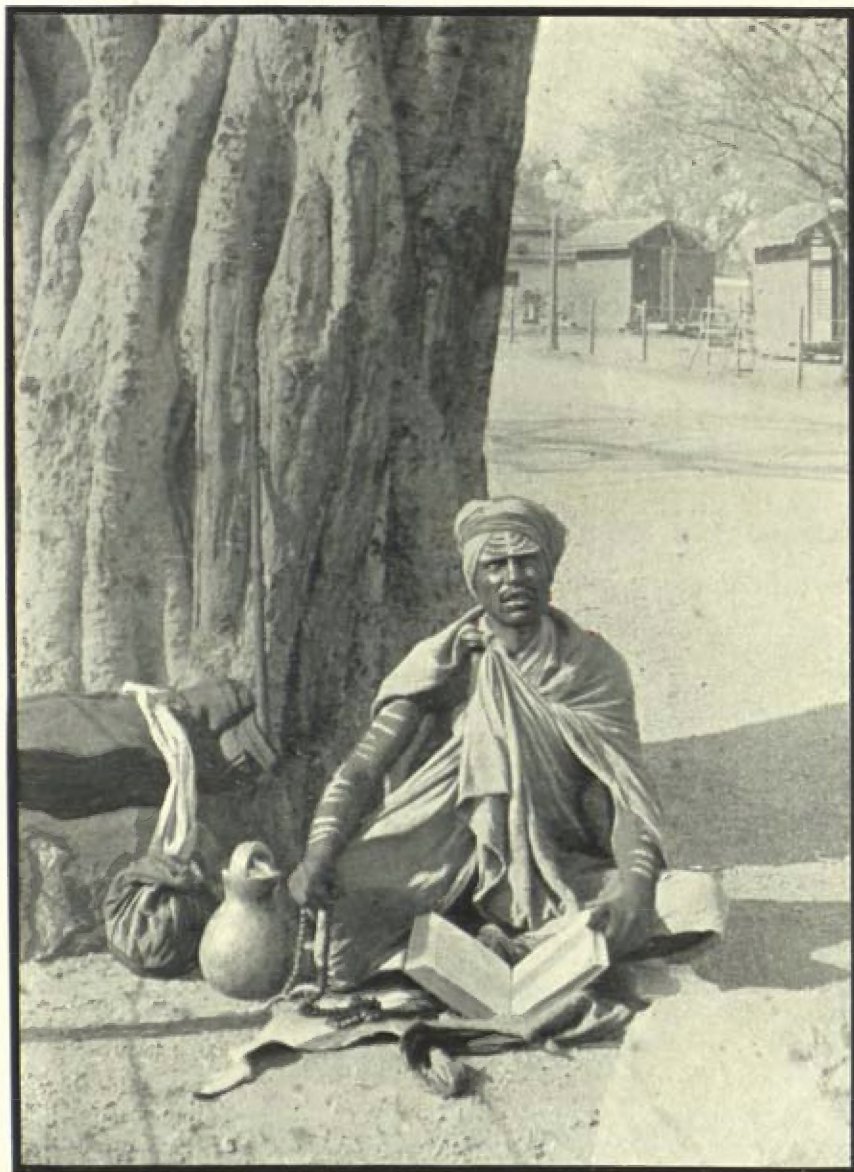
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CRIMINAL CLASSES
IN THE
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.



A Dehliwal Bauriah 'kamaoo.'

NOTES ON
CRIMINAL CLASSES

IN THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

M. F. Whelan

hag puv
1908

WITH

*Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who
occasionally visit the Presidency*

INCLUDING

Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin

15004



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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BOMBAY

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PREFACE.

THESE Notes, kindly revised, while the proofs were going through the press, by Mr. R. B. Stewart, M. A., I. C. S., Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Presidency, are an attempt to bring together and up to date in a practical form, such information as is available respecting the methods and distinctive characteristics of the Criminal Classes belonging to the Bombay Presidency and of certain foreign Criminal Tribes visiting it for the purposes of crime.

Ethnological and historical details, interesting though they no doubt are, have been avoided as being of no practical use to Police officers in the discharge of their duties in respect to the detection and prevention of crime.

To ensure accuracy and fulness of interesting and useful detail, Gazetteers, Police Records, Major Gunthorpe's Notes on Criminal Tribes, experienced Police Officers and reliable 'informers' have been consulted and the information thus obtained sifted and subjected to verification.

It may be conceded that no book on Criminal Classes can claim to be complete or final but will need revision according to varying circumstances and conditions affecting the criminal fraternity and the changes in their methods of criminality brought about thereby. It is hoped therefore that officers interested in the subject will be kind enough to communicate, from time to time, suggestions for additions and alterations which further experience and changing circumstances may indicate as desirable. Necessary amendments after verification will then appear in revised editions of the work.

The excellent illustrations interspersed throughout these Notes are the work of the Government Photo-zinco Department, Poona, from photographs taken by the Department or kindly supplied by Mr. D. Davies, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Mr. Luck, Mr. Vincent, and Inspector H. R. Kothavala.

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In respect to the notes on Sânsis and Minas, thanks are due to the Indore State for the loan, through Mr. C. Seagrim, Inspector-General of Police, Indore State, of 'informers' and to this officer for an interesting note on these tribes.

Acknowledgments are due, to Mr. Vincent for information obtained from his unpublished notes on some of the Criminal Classes and to the following Police officers in the Bombay Presidency for useful and interesting contributions and co-operation in the collection of material for the present compilation:—

Sir Edmund Cox, Mr. W. L. B. Souter, Mr. D. Davies, Mr. W. A. Dubois, Mr. T. S. Greenaway, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Mr. R. P. Lambert, Mr. T. G. Foard, Mr. F. H. Warden, Mr. R. MacTier, Mr. W. H. Luck, Mr. W. G. Clabby, the late Mr. H. Pogson, Mr. J. A. Guider, Mr. G. H. White, Mr. E. Priestley, Mr. J. A. Wallinger, Mr. K. C. Rushton, Rao Bahadur Mansukhrâm Mulji and Inspectors Hector R. Kothavala (for notes on Oudhias and Chhapparbands), Biharilal Bansilal and Bhimaji Balaji Gudi.

Much of the labour incidental to compiling, arranging and verifying the information obtained from the above sources, has devolved on Deputy Superintendent Abdul Rashidkhan and to this officer, for his invaluable assistance always cheerfully rendered, the Compiler is specially indebted.

M. KENNEDY,

*Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Railways and Criminal Investigation,
Bombay Presidency.*

POONA,
1st August 1907.

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Lambanis of the Dharwar District.

CRIMINAL CLASSES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Banjaras.

BANJARAS are also known in other parts of India and in various parts of this Presidency differently as Vanjāris, Brinjāris, Lamāns, Lambānis, Lambādis, etc.

The class is divided into a number of tribes or sub-divisions, some more criminal and troublesome than others, the four principal of which are, as given by Major Gunthorpe : Mathurias, Labhānas, Chārans (who in parts of this Presidency call themselves Rajput Banjaras), and Dhārees (known in the Carnatic as Tambureroo). The last mentioned are Mahomedans and are the *bhāts* (bards) of the tribe. There is another class called Dhālias who are Banjāra Māngs. Each sub-division is again split up into clans or families. Among certain of the Hindu divisions there are Sonārs (goldsmiths), Khawāsis or Nhāvis (barbers), Pujāris (worshippers), etc.

Banjāras must not be confused with Wanjāras or Wanjārés, now altogether a distinct class or caste though descended no doubt from the same stock, who are to be met with in Ahmednagar, Nasik, Poona, and Khandesh. These latter conform in manners, customs, dress, language, etc., to the Marāthas of the Deccan, are not addicted to crime, live in villages and have nothing in common with Banjaras.

The few Banjaras to be found in Gujerat are made up of Gowārias or Gowālias and Labhānas. Little need be said in respect to these as they are a peaceful, law-abiding, agricultural community and not criminal in any sense of the word. Their language, appearance and dress vary slightly from that of the Banjaras of the Deccan and Carnatic, owing no doubt to their different environment. It will be unnecessary to refer specially to them again except under the headings "Crime to which addicted" and "*Modus operandi*," where a brief allusion to the Gowārias, because of their one weakness for occasionally smuggling opium, will be made.

Banjāras are to be found practically throughout this Presidency, also in His Highness the Nizam's Territory, Mysore, Madras, Central Provinces and Berars.

Banjāras of this Presidency are not in the present day a nomadic class, though some of the tribes still maintain their hereditary love for wandering; the majority are settled in encampments more or less near villages. Here and there small villages have in the past been absorbed by Banjāra *tāndas*, and in some instances *tāndas* have, in course of time, become villages; in both cases, as might be expected, the Banjāra population largely predominates.

Their criminal activities are, as a rule, confined to a radius of thirty to sixty miles from their *tāndas*, but for cattle lifting, journeys to more distant places are undertaken. Offences are seldom committed in close proximity to a Lamāni encampment.

The tribe is a large one, numbering, according to the last Bombay Presidency census returns, 100,000 Vanjāris and 18,000 Lambānis, the distribution being as follows :—

| <i>Vanjāris.</i> | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|----------|-----|
| | Males. | Females. | |
| Ahmedabad | 101 | 68 | ... |
| Broach | ... | 1 | ... |
| Kaira | 47 | 43 | ... |
| Panch Mahals | 484 | 379 | ... |
| Surat | 109 | 66 | ... |
| Thana | 1,345 | 1,211 | ... |
| Native States in Northern Division | 308 | 275 | ... |
| Ahmednagar | 15,850 | 16,301 | ... |
| Khandesh | 17,175 | 15,269 | ... |
| Nasik | 15,903 | 15,124 | ... |
| Poona | 1,300 | 1,248 | ... |
| Satara | 1,461 | 1,337 | ... |
| Sholapur | 2,274 | 2,100 | ... |
| Native States in Central Division | 173 | 142 | ... |
| Belgaum | 230 | 228 | ... |
| Bijapur | 19 | 25 | ... |
| Kanara | 30 | ... | ... |
| Kolaba | 104 | 104 | ... |
| Ratnagiri | 11 | 9 | ... |
| Native States in Southern Division | 6 | 8 | ... |
| Total | 58,091 | 54,985 | |

Lamáns, Labáns, or Lambánis.

| | Males. | Females. |
|--|--------|----------|
| Panch Mahals ... | 670 | 796 |
| Thana ... | 2 | 7 |
| Native States in Northern Division ... | 133 | 174 |
| Ahmednagar ... | 227 | 233 |
| Khandesh ... | 94 | 114 |
| Nasik ... | 229 | 184 |
| Poona ... | 42 | 27 |
| Satara ... | 80 | 97 |
| Sholapur ... | 202 | 186 |
| Native States in Central Division ... | 94 | 72 |
| Belgaum ... | 436 | 408 |
| Bijapur ... | 2,649 | 2,417 |
| Dharwar ... | 4,152 | 3,943 |
| Kanara ... | 308 | 143 |
| Kolaba ... | 33 | 62 |
| Native States in Southern Division ... | 957 | 816 |
| Total ... | 10,308 | 9,679 |

Mahomedan Vanjáris.

| | | |
|--|----|-----|
| Ahmedabad ... | 3 | ... |
| Native States in Northern Division ... | 21 | 27 |
| Khandesh ... | 31 | 34 |
| Nasik ... | 5 | 10 |
| Sholapur ... | 1 | ... |
| Native States in Central Division ... | 6 | 5 |
| Total ... | 67 | 76 |

In this Presidency the class is practically settled, their typical *tándas* having existed in places for generations back, generally on waste lands far removed from village sites. They live a life apart from the village community and society. Their encampments or settlements are known as *tándas* with a 'náik' at the head of each. On him falls the responsibility of deciding all disputes and matters concerning the welfare of the *tánda* and he is their spokesman.

The men are tall, sturdy, well built, capable of enduring long and fatiguing marches, are often fair, with nothing in their appearance and dress to distinguish them from other cultivating classes, except that the poorer sections of the community are perhaps less cleanly. In parts the costume of the men and the type of physiognomy conform to those of Márwád Rajputs or Maráthas of good family.

Their ordinary dress is a *dhoti* or *cholna* (loose knickerbockers), coat or *pairan*, head-cloth coloured or white, and frequently gaudy turbans on festive occasions. Among the more well-to-do the *pagri* worn is often large, of red material, an *uparni* or shoulder-cloth being carelessly folded over it when the wearer leaves home.

Dhārees, though observing the Mahomedan rite of circumcision, closely resemble Hindus in manners, customs and appearance, in many instances their names being Hindu.

The women are mostly of superior physique and not without claims to good-looks. In parts of the Presidency they are bold and talkative, in others shy and retiring, keeping their faces covered in public after the fashion of Mār wādi women. They are a picturesque exception to the general squalid appearance of the females of the nomadic tribes. In the case of Chāran women their bright coloured *ghuigras*, *laingas* or gowns made of coarse cloth dyed red or blue and *odni* or head and body scarf of the same material embroidered and in some parts of the Presidency ornamented with beads, shells and looking-glass; their quaint stiff bodices, loose in front, open at the back, and more like a breastplate; their brass, bone or horn bracelets extending to the elbow and even higher; numerous brass anklets; their ear-rings and the variety of the ornaments which embellish their hair plaited at the back, combine to make a quaint yet interesting picture. The hair on either side of the face is also plaited into tails which are finished off with metal pendants. In some of the districts of the Presidency a piece of horn or stick, about nine inches long, is fastened into the hair on the top of the head. The end of the *odni* passing over this spike imparts an almost comical effect. This *shing*, as it is called, is worn only by married women whose husbands are living.

Dhāree women do not everywhere wear bracelets above the elbow, in other respects their dress is similar to that of Chāran women. At marriages they wear *sāris* and *cholis* like Mahomedans, but discard them as soon as the ceremony is over.

Dhālia women wear *sāris* and *cholis*, like ordinary Māngs, and glass bangles.

Of the numerous sub-divisions, that of the Mathurias is socially the highest and numerically the smallest. They live in houses in villages, are well-to-do and are not criminal as a class. They wear the sacred thread or a necklace of

tulsi beads, do not touch meat or liquor and are more cleanly than the rest. Their females wear the *sári* after the style of Gujar women, some being restricted in the choice of colour to blue. The hair is dressed in a knot on the top of the head and finished off with a cloth peg about two inches in length over which the end of the *sári* falls.

Labhánas, both men and women, dress very like Mathurias.

Banjáras are very superstitious, easily excited, and are given to quarrelling among themselves. Feeling sometimes runs high and feuds end in bloodshed even, but withal, the tribe as a whole is steadily settling down and in parts is as industrious, well-to-do and law-abiding as the Kunbi.

Mathurias and Labhánas excepted, men of all sub-divisions are fond of meat and liquor. Armed with spears and accompanied by their celebrated dogs they go in a good deal for hunting wild game.

The habitations in their encampments are more or less of a permanent though flimsy nature, with grass or palm leaf roofs. In parts of the Presidency where the Banjáras are in better circumstances, some of the well-to-do among them build themselves more substantial houses in their *tándas*. When on the move or temporarily employed as labourers on public works, they live in páls.

Banjára *tándas* are well guarded by a number of large Banjára dogs of a well known and special breed.

They have a peculiar dialect called 'Banjári' which resembles Márwádi and contains some Hindustani and Maráthi words. They can also talk the language of the country they are settled in and usually Hindustani too.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

In the Carnatic, Lamánis' slang for a house-breaking instrument is *soola*, for dacoity *dharadmár*, and for highway robbery *vátmár*.

Slang used.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

Till roads and railways opened up the country, Banjáras with their numerous pack-bullocks were the common carriers all over India of grain, salt and merchandise of all sorts and served in the transport department of the Mogul armies and with the British troops in the last century. The spread of civilization and improvements in and extension of, communications have virtually deprived them of their hereditary calling.

Many are now cultivators on a small scale and field labourers, the poorer ones supplementing their small profits by collecting firewood, grass, honey and other forest products for sale at the nearest market town. Others eke out a livelihood by selling head-loads of grass and firewood only. As a class they are also born herdsmen and are frequently employed by villagers to tend cattle. Many a Banjāra has wide acres and is wealthy and prosperous and here and there individuals are to be met with trading like Mār wādīs and established as *sāwkhārs*.

Some sections of the tribe trade in cattle (and go long distances for the purpose), sheep, goats, etc., which they convey to distant parts of the country; others, though relatively few, still follow their hereditary calling of carriers and maintain pack-bullocks for the purpose. They also serve as watchmen, enter Government employ perhaps as a bailiff or something of the kind, here and there are to be met with as porters on the railway, and, it is understood that in His Highness the Nizam's Dominions a few are even employed in the police.

On large public works such as tanks, earthworks, railway construction and the like, *tāndas* of Lambānis are often to be found, the men working as labourers during the day and no doubt pillaging in the neighbouring villages during the night.

As a preliminary to the execution of an organized dacoity
 Disguises adopted and means of identification. Banjāras in the Carnatic occasionally disguise themselves as Lingāyats and Brahmīns in order to secure reliable information as to a suitable quarry and the dispositions necessary for attack.

For the actual commission of crime, disguises are not assumed but to baffle identification faces are muffled and occasionally smeared with ashes or powder.

Where the Banjāra is well-to-do and prosperous, as in
 Crime to which addicted. Khandesh for instance, he gives very little trouble and is not addicted to organized crime, though here and there no doubt, a criminally disposed individual will join with local bad characters in the commission of offences. Elsewhere the more serious forms of crime to which the class is addicted are highway robbery and dacoity both on roads and in dwelling places, usually huts, but chiefly on roads. These and cattle lifting are their specialities. The Lambānis of the Carnatic are perhaps the most troublesome of the class inhabiting this Presidency. In house-breaking

the Banjāra does not excel, but in crop and cattle thefts he is expert. Illicit distillation of liquor is a weakness with all Banjāras, specially with those of the Carnatic, few of the *tāndas* there being free from it.

Sheep stealing, both by stealth and open attacks on shepherds, here and there kidnapping of children, ransacking grain-pits, pilfering at night from off carts both moving and stationary at halting places, are other offences to which Banjāras are addicted and there is little doubt that in some parts the smuggling of opium in loads and pack-saddles is made a source of profit.

Lastly, the levy of blackmail for the restoration of cattle stolen is not infrequently practised.

The Gowārias of Gujerat occasionally, it is believed, indulge in opium smuggling on a small scale.

Sheep and cattle are either removed from sheds and pens or driven away from flocks or herds in the open, the latter sometimes mixed up with the Banjāras' own animals; horns are trimmed, the shape of the ears altered and brands put on so as to change the appearance of stolen animals. Sometimes a dozen or more cattle disappear from one village and as all are driven off singly by different routes to an appointed meeting place ten miles or more away, it is a matter of no little difficulty to trace such thefts. An expert Banjāra cattle lifter will also surreptitiously drive off cattle from the open country during broad day-light while the herdsman is having his dinner or midday snooze.

Other methods of cattle lifting are as follows:—Leaving their *tāndas* in charge of the women, Banjāras go long distances to lift cattle; the stolen animals are driven by unfrequented paths and the *tānda* is reached by some indirect route. The cattle are afterwards driven off to a distant destination and sold to butchers or others, or entrusted to friends for safe custody. Or, relays of men are posted at suitable intervals between the *tānda* and the scene of the proposed crime; two of the culprits drive the cattle to the first relay of men posted and so on, as each relay is relieved, it disappears and reaches home by devious routes.

At night, sheep are stampeded by some of the culprits getting in among them; each man engaged in the venture secures, during the noise and confusion, one of the flock and makes off

with it. Efforts on the part of the shepherd to interfere with the thieves meet with violence—he is either stoned or beaten. In the face of resistance Banjāras get excited and resort to great violence.

When operating on roads, three or four will waylay solitary cart-men who overpowered by numbers, are made to deliver over grain, valuables or cash in their possession; a larger number will hold up a string of carts and rifle each deliberately and leisurely. Roads leading through solitary tracts or hilly country are usually selected for exploitation during the day, so as to ensure safe retreat. For night crimes, they are not so particular.

Dacoities of all kinds are committed in the manner common to most other criminals. There are no noteworthy characteristic variations in the Banjāras' methods and preparations. The attack is ushered in by a volley of stones. Approaches are guarded by men armed with slings and stones. To the cries of 'Din! Din!' the main body comes to close quarters and use their sticks and other weapons they carry, freely. Swords and guns if available, are used for purposes of intimidation. To each other, Hindustani words are sometimes spoken; but more often signals, conveyed by guttural sounds, are used. In retreat they will endeavour to mislead pursuit by departing in a direction opposite to their real destination, dropping valueless articles of the 'loot' as they go, splitting up and travelling by unfrequented roads and across country, and by other subterfuges common among most criminals.

Each gang works under the orders of a leader known as 'nāik,' and in the Carnatic as 'sālia.' He plans the expedition with the other participators, usually twenty or so, and meets initial outlay on consulting omens, propitiating the deity, and so on.

Information is occasionally obtained by one of the gang personally reconnoitring, but usually through friendly liquor-vendors, resident Banjāras, village Mār wādis, and local bad characters. The last mentioned often join in the commission of crime.

When delivering an attack, Banjāras arm themselves with sticks often cut from trees *en route*, slings and stones, sickles and, if obtainable, swords and guns.

Dacoities and robberies are sometimes committed while a *tānda* is on the move from one encampment to another. Under such circumstances the old men and women accompany their

goods and chattels, which are carried on the pack-bullocks, while some of the able-bodied men strike off to some distant place previously fixed upon, rapidly perpetrate a dacoity and rejoin the main body on the march.

In raiding crops and threshing-floors, the early hours of morning, when the custodians are likely to be asleep, are usually selected. While some keep guard over and deal with, if need be, the guardians of the crop or grain as the case may be, others carry off loads of grain in blankets and bags. Standing crops are, as a rule, robbed during the night.

After the commission of dacoity or highway robbery Banjāras call a short halt a mile or so from the scene of the offence and there take an easy, overhaul the spoil, and compare notes before final departure for their *tāndas*.

They are fond of tobacco smoking from *hookahs* at home, and away from home from *chilams* or cleverly rolled leaf pipes (*chuttas*). The discovery of such or of *pān-supāri* bags ornamented with *cowri* shells or looking-glass at the scene of a crime point to Lambānis as the culprits, unless there is reason to suppose that perhaps Kaikādis or some other criminals may have deliberately deposited such articles in order to divert suspicion.

Tactful enquiry among Lambānis living near the scene of an offence committed by Banjāras will sometimes prove effectual in obtaining a clue to the perpetrators should the latter belong to a distant *tānda*.

When indications point to Lambānis as the culprits, an immediate muster of the members of the suspected *tānda* should be taken, and the absence under any pretext or excuse of any member should be carefully enquired into, especially if there is reason to believe that during the commission of the crime any one of the culprits has been injured owing to resistance offered.

The Gowāria appears to have no specially ingenious method for his occasional lapses into opium smuggling. The opium is procured from Native States and usually two to five individuals take part in the venture. On the outward journey they will travel both by road and rail, returning on foot by side tracks, keeping however near the direct route. When in possession of contraband, they travel at night and halt during the day burying the opium close by. Similarly, on arrival at home the opium is concealed under ground and retailed to opium eaters.

Sickles, sticks, slings and stones are the principal weapons relied on in the commission of crimes of violence. Sometimes spears and knives are also carried. Fire-arms and swords are rarely used. Occasionally, and specially in the Carnatic, 'potash bombs' are exploded to frighten villagers and create an impression that the gang carries fire-arms.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Property, unless cash, is as a rule not concealed in the *tānda*; it is buried in the neighbourhood in some *nāllah* or other convenient spot. Old wells in the vicinity of *tāndas* should receive attention when searching for property. Cotton and grain if not at once conveyed to 'receivers' are hidden under leaves, grass, or in stacks. To prevent identification the borders of cloths are removed and the raw edges hemmed, valuable borders being disposed of for a consideration.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

Their 'receivers' are many and among all sorts and conditions of men, but are chiefly liquor-vendors, Lingáyats, Márwadis, coppersmiths, village *sāwkārs* and *pātils*. Small articles of value are at times hidden in the folds of the women's dress or sewn into the bullock packs. On Major Gunthorpe's authority, when searching a *tānda* it might prove useful to examine the contents of pots containing food being cooked, as it is stated to be a practice among Banjāra females when taken unawares to deposit small articles of jewelry in these utensils and to make believe that cooking is in progress.

Cattle are disposed of by ones and twos at a distance from the scene of the offence, sometimes to butchers and often at cattle bazars, probably under forged certificates of ownership or *dākhlas* obtained under false pretences.

Stolen ornaments are usually not distributed among the members of the gang; they are turned into cash, the 'sália' or the leader of the gang getting two shares.

Berads.

Berads are also known as Bedars, Byáderu, Talvárru, Nâikra-Makáru, and in parts of the Belgaum District as Kátaks (butchers, cut-throats).

They are a numerous tribe inhabiting tracts in the Southern Division of this Presidency, more particularly the Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts and the adjoining Native States and portions of the Madras Presidency.

Their operations are confined to Kanarese-speaking tracts and to a radius of forty or fifty miles from their homes. As a rule they do not go so far. Berads live and are settled in villages like other Hindus; they do not lead a wandering life.

The Bombay Presidency census of 1901 gives a gross population of over one and three quarter lakhs. More than a lakh live in the Dharwar and Belgaum Districts alone. The following are the strength and distribution of the class according to the 1901 census returns:—

| | | Males. | Females. |
|--|-----|--------|----------|
| Belgaum | ... | 24,128 | 23,908 |
| Dharwar | ... | 34,042 | 34,339 |
| Bijapur | ... | 13,199 | 13,436 |
| Kanara | ... | 884 | 784 |
| Kolhapur | ... | 4,535 | 4,526 |
| Northern Division | ... | 48 | 58 |
| Southern Marátha Country | ... | 8,043 | 8,316 |
| Savantvadi | ... | 42 | 34 |
| Savnur | ... | 363 | 331 |
| Ratnagiri | ... | 70 | 89 |
| Central Division | ... | 2,677 | 2,621 |
| Native States in the Central Division. | ... | 312 | 297 |
| Total | | 88,344 | 88,738 |

In physique and physical attributes as well as in their mode of living and habits Berads closely resemble Rámoshis. They are dirty
 Appearance, dress, etc. livers and feeders, have coarse features, are of dark complexion,

well built, of good physique, wiry, muscular, active, fleet of foot, possessed of great powers of endurance and quick of vision and hearing. Thirty miles to a Berad on a dark night over rough country is nothing extraordinary. They are very fond of hunting pig on foot with dogs and spears.

The men wear a head-scarf, a *pairan*, *kurta* or shirt, and drawers (*cholnas*) or *dhotar* according to fancy, and in hilly tracts *langotis*, or *lāngs*, all of coarse cloth, also ear and finger rings. The women, who are as hardy as the men, wear the bodice and *sāri* (the latter they do not draw up between the legs), and ornaments common to the Hindu women of the Carnatic.

Berads are addicted to liquor and are fond of gambling.

Much interesting information on this class will be found in Colonel Meadows Taylor's "Story of My Life." The State of Shorapur, over the fortunes of which he presided during the minority of the 'Rajah,' lies to the east of the Bijapur District. It was a flourishing Bedar State, the princely family of which belonged to this tribe. The character given to the "Clans of the Twelve Thousand," by Colonel Meadows Taylor, shows what a valorous, chivalrous, yet withal lawless rabble this class could be. He speaks of them as far superior to Bhils, Gonds and such classes and adds that they were practically under no control, owing allegiance to the heads of their clans only.

Coming to recent history the turbulent and restless spirit of the Bedars was manifested in the Belgaum District in 1895 when they got out of hand and openly defied the law roaming the country in organized gangs of dacoits and fearlessly resisting all efforts to capture them. Measures on a large scale had to be undertaken with a view to the total and final extermination of these organized bands. A large armed police force was drafted into the disturbed area and the military were also requisitioned but owing to the nature of the country and the proximity of Native States little headway was made for some time. Later, the offer of large rewards ultimately brought about the capture of some of the ringleaders. This broke the back of the organization and in a few months all the gangs had been brought to book, but not without loss to the police, of whom two of the Belgaum force, two of Sangli and one from Kurundvad met their death, two others being mutilated. Eight villagers were also killed by the Berads including two 'informers,' and two were mutilated. Three Berads were shot by the police; over 200 were captured for dacoity, murder, etc., of

whom a large number were sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment. Many receivers of stolen property were successfully dealt with, and steps were taken against certain rich land-holders who were conclusively proved to have harboured proclaimed offenders.

Years have elapsed since the events chronicled above, but constant vigilance on the part of the police is still necessary to keep this class in check.

Their mother-tongue is impure Kanarese. Some who live in or near Marāthi-speaking districts speak corrupt Marāthi or Hindustani, while in some of the villages near Belgaum 'Vaddari' is the dialect used.

Dialect and peculiarities of speech.

Slang used.

So far as can be ascertained, Bedars have no slang.

Many are honest and hard-working. A few are *jāgirdars* and hereditary *pātils*, a large number *sanadis* (village police), village servants and night watchmen, others land-owners in a small way, cultivators, field labourers, cattle-herds, domestic servants, coolies, mill hands, etc. A few live by plying carts for hire and by collecting and selling wood and other jungle produce and some are employed in the police.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

Some of the women are 'jogters' or prostitutes.

Addicted as they are to cattle lifting, Berads often pass themselves off as cattle dealers, and they sometimes disguise themselves as high caste Hindus. When actually committing crime, to avoid identification or recognition, the Berad will frequently discolour his face with ashes or something of the sort or wear a blanket over the head.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

Gang and highway robbery, dacoity, especially in buildings, crop stealing, sheep and cattle lifting, burglary and petty thefts are the forms of crime especially favoured by Berads. The blood of the free-booter runs in their veins, and as a tribe they are liable, with any disturbing cause, to form gangs, go into outlawry, disturb the peace of the countryside, and defy the police and authorities.

Crime to which addicted.

Between January and May their activities are directed mainly to cattle lifting, dacoity, robbery and petty thefts; June to October is their favourite time for burglary; from November to

January they get agricultural and other honest employment and are not therefore so dependent on crime.

When bent on sheep stealing at night from a pen or net enclosure, the expert Berad, in approaching the flock, imitates, it is said, the movements and progress of a wild animal and there is a current belief that his hands are sometimes armed with metal claws, a sort of *wāghnak* arrangement, with which he seizes the sheep.

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Cattle are stolen from sheds and yards near houses at night and driven off to some safe place in the jungles where they are tethered till the thieves ascertain whether the complainant is willing to pay blackmail for their restoration or intends to have recourse to the police. In the latter event the cattle are driven further away and either killed or otherwise disposed of. If blackmail is forthcoming, it is obtained through an agent and the cattle are either driven to a pound from which the owner, after paying the pound charges, recovers them, or are left at some spot to which the owner is directed.

Berads addicted to dacoity or other serious crimes of violence well know how the jurisdiction question hampers police enquiry: therefore, in selecting the scene of crime they often calculate on this and lay their plans accordingly. In the actual commission of the offence and retreat from the scene of crime, their tactics and methods do not differ materially from those of Rāmoshis. When house-breaking, they effect entrance by the 'bagli' (a hole near the door-frame by the fastening, sufficiently large to admit an arm), or 'rumālī' (a hole in the wall sufficient to admit a body) operation.

The information on which they act in committing crime is obtained by personal enquiry or from friends among local bad characters, and not infrequently they are invited by some enemy of their victim to rob him.

Berads are not particular about associating with members of other castes in the commission of crime. They are neither so cruel as, nor addicted to unnecessary violence like, the Kaikādis.

Their favourite implement for house-breaking is known as a *kangatti* (an iron jemmy tapering to a point at one end about 18 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference), vide exhibit 53 of the Bombay District Police Museum (Plate IV).

Stock in trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Another instrument used for that purpose is known as *araskuchi* (king's sceptre) about 18 inches in length and shaped like the head of a small pick-axe, exhibit 41 of the Bombay District Police Museum (Plate IV).

For the commission of dacoity or robbery they usually arm themselves with a hatchet or crow-bar to break open doors, a scythe or sickle, sticks, slings and stones to guard approaches and beat off pursuers, and with a sword or gun if they can secure either. When attacking a village in force they also make use of 'potash bombs' to terrify the villagers and deceive them into the belief that the gang carries fire-arms.

Property is buried in jungles, under trees, in dry water-courses or in similar convenient hiding places till a suitable opportunity for disposing of it arrives.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

Goldsmiths, liquor shop-keepers, village *sāwkārs* and even *pātils* and *kulkarnis* are their 'receivers.'

Cattle are disposed of singly or in pairs (sometimes after the shape of their horns has been altered), at distant fairs, or restored through a middleman on payment of blackmail equivalent perhaps to half the value of the animals.

Bhamptas.

Bhámptas are also known in different parts of the
 Name of criminal class or tribe. Bombay Presidency as :—

Ghantichors (bundle-thieves),
 Uchlias (lifters),
 Khisa-katru (pocket-cutters),
 Takáris,
 Vadáris,
 Kalwadru,
 Tudug Wadru,
 Kámátis, and
 Páthruts.

In the various provinces in India outside this Presidency they may possibly be known under some other names.

It is probable that their original domicile was the Telegu-speaking country; but in the present day, Bhámpta settlements are to be found in several of the districts and Native States in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. The Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar and Sholapur Districts may however be regarded as their stronghold. The following are some of the villages in the Bombay Presidency and Native States where Bhámptas are known to have established themselves. The list is probably not exhaustive, for the Bhámpta travels far afield in the pursuit of crime and settles down where he finds congenial surroundings and forms useful connections. Many live in Bombay under the guise of Maráthas and successfully carry on their thieving avocation there, using the city as a base from which to work on the railways.

BRITISH DISTRICTS.

Poona District.

| Village. | | Taluka or Petha. |
|-----------------------|-----|------------------------|
| Bopodi | ... | Haveli. |
| Bhopkhiel | ... | Do. |
| Fugyáchi-wádi | ... | Do. |
| Mundhawá | ... | Do. |
| Wadgaon-sheri | ... | Do. |
| Nimbálkaráche Wadgaon | ... | Bhimthadi or Baramati. |
| Chopdaj or Bhadgaván | ... | Do. |
| Wáki | ... | Do. |
| Somayacha Karanja | ... | Do. |



Bhambtas in their ordinary clothes.

| Village. | | Taluka or Petha. |
|--------------------|-----|------------------------|
| Morgaon | ... | Bhimthadi or Baramati. |
| Bāburdi | ... | Do. |
| Karhāti | ... | Do. |
| Gondi | ... | Indapur. |
| Talegaon-Dhamdhare | ... | Sirur. |
| Pābal | ... | Do. |
| Kendoor | ... | Do. |
| Dhāmāri | ... | Do. |
| Loni | ... | Khed. |
| Dhāmni | ... | Do. |
| Kanhersur | ... | Do. |
| Waltī | ... | Junnar. |
| Rānjani | ... | Do. |
| Khodad | ... | Do. |

Satara District.

| | | |
|----------------|-----|-----------|
| Rui | ... | Koregaon. |
| Shendurjane | ... | Do. |
| Kanher-khed | ... | Do. |
| Umraj | ... | Karad. |
| Goleshwar | ... | Do. |
| Bhikar Vadgaon | ... | Khanapur |
| Tadsar | ... | Do. |
| Chichani | ... | Do. |
| Gotkhindi | ... | Walwa. |
| Bahadarwadi | ... | Do. |

Sholapur District.

| | | |
|---------|-----|--------|
| Dahitne | ... | Barsi. |
|---------|-----|--------|

Ahmednagar District.

| | | |
|-----------|-----|------------|
| Rui | ... | Parner. |
| Bāburdi | ... | Do. |
| Chāmburdi | ... | Shrigonda. |
| Astegaon | ... | Parner. |
| Shinda | ... | Karjat. |
| Khorda | ... | Jamkhed. |
| Hingoni | ... | Nevasa. |
| Kengoni | ... | Do. |
| Pimpri | ... | Sangamner. |
| Loke | ... | Do. |
| Ajampur | ... | Do. |

Nasik District.

| | | |
|-----------|-----|---------|
| Rawlas | ... | Niphād. |
| Kundewādi | ... | Do. |
| Shevri | ... | Do. |
| Pipri | ... | Do. |
| Jāmb | ... | Do. |

| Village. | | Taluka or Petha. |
|------------|--------|------------------|
| Saunderpur | .. .. | Niphad. |
| Oogaon | ... .. | Do. |
| Pimplas | ... .. | Do. |

Khandesh District.

| | | |
|----------|--------|-------------------------------|
| Keli | ... .. | } near Shirsoli, G. I. P. Ry. |
| Khardi | ... .. |  |
| Chorwadi | ... .. | near Barhanpur, G.I.P. Ry. |

Belgaum District.

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-----------|
| Bhendwad | ... .. | Chikodi. |
| Khadakbhanvi | ... .. | Do. |
| Navlyal | ... .. | Do. |
| Yamkanmardi (Yamagarli) | ... .. | Do. |
| Sakunhatti | ... .. | Athani. |
| Yargatti | ... .. | Do. |
| Ankalgi | ... .. | Chickodi. |

Bijapur District.

| | | |
|----------------|--------|-----------|
| Hansanoor | ... .. | Badami. |
| Halkurki | ... .. | Do. |
| Byadra Budihal | ... .. | Do. |
| Asangi | ... .. | Do. |
| Katnalli | ... .. | Do. |
| Masuti | ... .. | Bagevadi. |
| Arkeri | ... .. | Bijapur. |
| Jalgeri | ... .. | Do. |
| Bargudi | ... .. | Indi. |
| Kumasgi | ... .. | Shindgi. |

Dharwar District.

| | | |
|-----------|--------|-----------|
| Bálehusur | | Bankapur. |
|-----------|--------|-----------|

NATIVE STATES.

Kolhapur State.

| | | |
|----------|--------|---------|
| Danoli | ... .. | Shirol. |
| Shirgaon | ... .. | Do. |

Sangli State.

Kowlápur, near Sangli.

Akalkot State.

Ankalgi.
Bargudi.
Konaly (where Bhámpas resort to worship ' Kali ').
Bhageli.

Indore State.

Dewas, 24 miles from Indore.

His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

| Village, | Taluka or Petha, |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Siddhapur ... | H. H. the Nizam's Territory. |
| Mungási ... | Do, |
| Eknathwádi ... | Do. |
| Yellamwádi ... | Do |
| Bhairwádi ... | Do. |
| Shripatwádi ... | Do |
| Okardi ... | Do. |
| Kharundi ... | Do. |

} near Angar,
G. I. P. Ry.

There is no limit to the Bhámpta's field of operations ; he travels and works all over India, even Assam, and no railway is immune from the Bhámpta pest. But ne confines his attentions almost entirely to railways, *bunders*, markets, temples and fairs, in fact anywhere where crowds collect, though he is not averse, while making a road journey, to plying his calling among fellow travellers. The railway however is the most lucrative and safest field for his activities. The conditions there are all in his favour. Unless caught red-handed or marked down by the police and taken out of the train before he has got to work, detection becomes almost impossible. The victim as a rule does not discover his loss for hours after the theft, by which time a hundred miles or more may separate him from the culprit and his lost property. He does not know who to suspect or where to locate the theft. He therefore, and because of the trouble and delay involved, often does not complain at all to the police. If he does, with the scanty information he can furnish, and other obvious drawbacks to successful detection, the police are so handicapped as to be able to do very little to help him.

The Bhámpta is not a wanderer in the sense that he travels about with his goods and chattels changing his residence. He makes himself a home in some village and beyond more or less prolonged absence from that home while on thieving expeditions, there he is settled. Occasionally for some special reason, domestic or otherwise, for instance when he has made a district too hot for him, a Bhámpta will remove with his family and belongings from one village to another. Similarly, many have left their original villages, formed connections elsewhere and there made homes for themselves. But they do not lead a gipsy life.

Gangs of men, women, and children will leave their homes in pursuit of crime and travel far afield putting up in gardens, *dharamsalās*, temples and the like, pretending to be Maráthas or cultivators from a famine-stricken district in search of employment.

According to the Bombay Presidency census of 1901 the Bhámptas in the Presidency proper number a little over 600 males and about the same number of females, distributed as under:—

Population according to last census, and distribution.

British Districts.

| | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|------------|--------|----------|--------|
| Poona | 200 | 161 | 361 |
| Satara | 95 | 106 | 201 |
| Bijapur | 80 | 83 | 163 |
| Khandesh | 67 | 79 | 146 |
| Belgaum | 51 | 72 | 123 |
| Ahmednagar | 10 | 9 | 19 |
| Sholapur | 4 | 2 | 6 |

Native States.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----|----|-----|
| Kolhapur | 79 | 98 | 177 |
| Southern Marátha Country | 31 | 34 | 65 |
| Satara Agency | 4 | 6 | 10 |

The above figures are, it is to be feared, misleading, the reasons being fairly obvious. Firstly, a large number of the male Bhámptas is always away from home on thieving expeditions (this also accounts for the number of females returned exceeding the males); secondly, no doubt many of the caste did not disclose their identity as Bhámptas when the census was taken but returned themselves as Maráthas or Hindus of other castes.

With the exception of such castes as Mángs, Mahárs, Chámbhars, Dhors and Buruds, Bhámptas admit all Hindus of the upper and middle classes, such as Wánis, Márwádís, Sutárs, etc., into their tribe. Mahomedans and Berads are also admissible. They adopt children of other castes and bring them up to their own profession. Adopted boys are called 'Konnad' or 'Golyad,' girls 'Konnadi.' It is said that Uchliás will go so far as to give shelter, in certain cases, to a woman who has got into trouble and belongs to a respectable family. When the child is born, the Bhámpta keeps it and sends the mother home with a *sári* and a rupee or two.

Appearance, dress, etc.

In every village they have a headman of their own, who is usually the oldest resident Bhámpta. He is designated 'pátíl,' 'tálmad,' 'taldaru' or 'kattimani,' and is the spokesman for the Bhámptas of the village, presides at caste meetings and is socially respected. "Honour among thieves" is apparently at a discount among them seeing that there is a well-established trial by ordeal styled 'Tel-rawa' for the purpose of ascertaining the truth in cases of infidelity among the women and withholding of profits on any member's part. The method is merely to require the suspected person to pick out a pice or other small object from boiling oil, the person succeeding in doing this unscathed being of course considered guiltless. It appears rather a futile ordeal if, as alleged, a hand wet with water can be introduced into the boiling oil without particular damage, provided the operation is performed smartly.

Having an admixture of other castes and living the life they do, Bhámptas conform to no particular type. Most are below the average height, some are fair, others very dark. All are wiry and active rather than powerful and robust. The women are comely but mostly of loose morals.

As a rule Bhámptas dress well, are particular as to their personal appearance and live in a superior style but without display. The women dress like Maráthas, sometimes like Brahmin women and wear nose-rings. They tattoo their hands and faces, the left hand being tattooed more profusely than the right.

The Bhámpta when on the war-path is always on the alert. He can neither sit still long nor keep his eyes still. He is always on the look-out, taking stock of people, things and the situation generally. He can often thus be identified by an observant or intelligent police officer.

It is said to be a rule among Bhámptas not to give a girl in marriage till the intended husband has proved himself a dexterous thief. Instances of intermarriage between Kaikádis and Bhámptas are not unknown.

Bhámptas will eat with or from the hands of those of other castes who are admissible into their own. They are gross feeders, relishing even a scavenging pig, and are also fond of liquor.

Among themselves Bhámptas speak a corrupt language called 'Waddari' or debased form of Telegu. They also speak Maráthi, Hindustani, and Kanarese. In speak-

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

ing Kanarese they drop their 'hs.' The home language of some of the Ghantichors of the Bijapur District is Kanarese.

The following are a few of the words and expressions used among themselves by Bhámptas ; some are slang, the rest are corrupt Telegu :—

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|-------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| ulmukh <i>or</i> wághnak | ... | curved knife. |
| fuddad | ... | chief constable. |
| katted | ... | police officer. |
| ochkher | ... | arrived, came. |
| dángi kushi | ... | conceal yourself. |
| nella kukkulu | ... | constable. |
| yaravelak | ... | gold ornaments. |
| waipalu | ... | rupees. |
| talapu kayal | ... | silver. |
| phárshi | ... | slang. |
| mangkar | ... | an official. |
| oondai | .. | there is. |
| goshad | ... | inspector or chief constable. |
| tápshi chap | ... | speak to deceive. |
| tulag | ... | don't tell. |
| gant | ... | bundle, loot. |
| phaddad | ... | great, heavy, much. |
| chiki | ... | he has. |
| shiti | ... | a purse. |
| rondi | ... | waist. |
| koshkia | ... | cut. |
| chakka | ... | box. |
| chínnaid | ... | small, light. |
| gootham | ... | nail (for house-breaking). |
| bokha | ... | a hole. |
| bokh párshoti gootham... | ... | a nail to make a hole. |
| goda | ... | a wall. |
| jarigi yelgya | ... | go away. |
| pár yelgya | ... | run away. |
| phadda ill | ... | great house, <i>i.e.</i> , prison. |
| yerra mankad | ... | } a European. |
| yerra mothad | ... | |
| antha bangar | ... | gold property. |
| bachku | ... | an ornament. |
| antha endi | ... | silver property. |
| muchni | ... | stolen property. |
| muchad | ... | thief. |
| muchil battal <i>or</i> dontu | ... | stolen cloth. |
| adpam | ... | a bag. |
| pár-elgar | ... | to escape. |
| phoge-bande | ... | railway train. |

Slang used by the Ghantichors of the Bijapur District and known to the Bhāmtas of the Deccan :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| piskat | ... knife. |
| telpadu | ... } |
| kayal | ... } rupees. |
| waipalu | ... } |
| yendi | ... silver. |
| goshad | ... Brahmin. |
| yardi | ... gold. |
| padda | ... go on. |
| badka | ... ornament, property. |
| par yelgar | ... to escape or run away. |
| kansya | ... a villager. |
| bantgia, bantker | ... a sepoy, a constable. |
| gainu | ... house. |

The following slang expressions are peculiar to the Ghantichors of the Bijapur District :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|---------------|---|
| irat | ... pátil. |
| dodd irat | ... police officer. |
| netgar | ... wálikar (village police). |
| kevrer | ... woman. |
| pinner | ... boys. |
| koddarki | ... theft. |
| möt | ... bundle. |
| dugáni | ... purse containing cash. |
| kempu | ... gold. |
| kadu | ... property. |
| budsu | ... run away. |
| chapra madiko | ... conceal. |
| kodru | ... thief. |
| gaina wadsu | ... house breaking. |
| shato | ... the beating of a decoyed ' receiver ' or dupe. |

Special signs in use among Deccan Bhāmtas are peculiar and worthy of note. One Bhāmta warns another by first coughing and then clearing the throat; this is done quietly if police are about or noisily if the person to be warned is at a distance and the coast is clear. He never points with the hand or finger, does not look in the direction from which danger is expected, but points with the elbow while scratching his head. If he wishes to intimate to a friend that he is being watched, he will, when scratching his head, work his elbow backwards. If a Bhāmta is awaiting the arrival of a train in which he expects friends and notices the police are watching him, he will twist one end of his shoulder cloth (*uparni*) round one arm

to indicate that he is tied up, and if he intends his friends not to alight, he will scratch his head and work his elbow in the direction the train is moving; this all means 'I am watched; continue your journey.' There is no slang for 'come here,' the elbow movement does instead of a word.

When a gang of Bhāmtas disperses in small detachments under arrangement to meet at the same place later on, each group, before separating, will bury some money or property at some spot known to the other groups and close to the rendezvous. Each party as it returns looks up these hiding places and if any of the hidden property has been removed it is understood that the particular detachment that buried it has returned and gone on.

Bhāmtas before leaving a halting place will bring the tops of their cooking stones together to indicate to those following that they have moved on. They are clever in the matter of identifying the foot-prints of their friends. If Bhāmtas wish to intimate, to others following, where they have gone, they will, after arranging the cooking stones as above described, scrape a mark with the side of the foot in the direction they propose moving, and leave an imprint of a naked foot across the heap of earth they have thus scraped together pointing to the direction in which they have gone. This mark may extend to fifty yards from the fireplace: if necessary, two or three of these drags are made, fifty or hundred yards apart, at cross roads.

There is a sort of freemasonry among Bhāmtas which enables them to recognize one another even though not personally acquainted, and it is believed they possess certain secret signs, connected with the eyes and fingers, whereby they can recognise and communicate with each other when necessary.

Bhāmtas follow ordinary rural avocations and occasionally the more well-to-do trade in a small way as merchants or *sāwkārs*. Some cultivate land on a large scale and labour in the fields during harvest time. But mostly those who own land rent it to others, not infrequently to the village headman. Some are rich in land and cattle and find no difficulty in furnishing security if called on to do so. If a Bhāmta is bound over under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code, he refrains altogether from crime during the period he is bound over for. Immediately the period has expired

Ostensible means of livelihood.





Bhamptas in disguise.

(From a photograph found in a Bhampto's house.)

he leaves home and takes to crime again. If asked what is their ostensible means of livelihood, Bhāmpas will often naively say they 'visit bazars and earn a living.'

The numerous disguises the Bhāmpa makes use of, and the variety of methods he has recourse to for accomplishing his purpose, make him difficult to recognise. Most commonly he dresses as a well-to-do Marátha, either on pilgrimage or sight-seeing, sometimes as a poorer member of that community in search of work. He is often to be met with in the guise of a prosperous Mār wādi or Hindu trader; of Līngāyat, Jāgam, Brahmin, or shepherd; sometimes in that of a minstrel, Sādhu, mendicant, Sanādi Korwa (musician), or Deccan Bhāt. Thus the Bhāmpa is an adept at making himself up and passing himself off as a member of *any* caste or calling and obtaining admission, without suspicion, into superior class railway accommodation, to temples and places resorted to by the better class of travellers and pilgrims.

In some of the Bombay *chawls*, considerable numbers are frequently to be found posing generally as Maráthas. A gang will settle down as Maráthas under assumed names in large up-country cities for months at a time, being often joined by their wives. From such temporary head-quarters the males will make periodical and lengthy excursions along railways and to fairs to commit crime, till their suspicious movements and want of an ostensible occupation perhaps, give rise to inconvenient enquiries, when the gang immediately make themselves scarce. Occasionally one of the party acts the part of a holy and learned man or of a medicine man and the others that of his disciples and cheat people into giving money.

Women do not dress themselves up in any disguise, but pose as members of some superior caste.

Ghantichors of the Bijapur District also pass themselves off in the Central Provinces as 'Kangrawallas.'

The Bhāmpa today is an expert professional pick-pocket and railway thief. He is also dexterous at removing ornaments off the persons of women and children in a crowd, at landing places, fairs, in bazars and in temples. In fact his chief occupation is thieving on railways and anywhere in crowds and he succeeds, under almost impossible circumstances.

Disguises adopted and means
of identification.

Crime to which addicted.

Comparatively recently Bhāmpas have taken to burglary and even robbery, forming gangs of a dozen or more for the purpose. Originally it seems, Bhāmpas were pick-pockets pure and simple, fairs and bazars and the like offering a large field for their activities. And it was a rule among them not to commit, on pain of expulsion from the caste, crime between sunset and sunrise. All this is however now altered.

With the advent of the iron horse, railways afford the Bhāmpa the most lucrative fields for his activities and he will commit crime at all hours of the day or night, as opportunity offers.

Both sexes are adept at thieving, whether on the railway or in crowds; but the women, who do not travel so much or so far afield as the men, confine their activities chiefly to compartments for females on railways, fairs, temples, bazars, etc.

Uchlia women of the Satara District are reported to be less criminal than their caste sisters elsewhere.

The Ghantichors of the Carnatic are addicted to gang robbery and an instance is on record of a gang which had committed a series of organized dacoities in two districts, having been arrested with 4,000 rupees' worth of stolen goods.

Burglary by day and by night and robbery or cheating a would-be 'receiver' after decoying him to a lonely spot are other forms of crime to which the Ghantichors of the Carnatic are prone.

Another crime known as 'rāmthadi' to which the Ghantichor is addicted, is cheating by the substitution of brass *mohurs* or beads, similar to those worn by women in necklaces, for gold ones.

Both sexes are early trained to follow the profession of crime and soon become experts.

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Children are first taught to pilfer shoes, cocoanuts, etc., and are liberally chastised for want of proficiency in the course of their education. The women are as adept as the men. Boys are expert at removing ornaments off the persons of children. These juvenile thieves entice their victims away to a quiet spot, by displaying sweetmeats, copper coins or *bhorangis* (hopping insects) tied to a thread, and then relieve them of their ornaments.

There is nothing distinctive about the burglaries committed by Bhāmpas, for they have but recently taken to this form of

crime and have not studied it seriously. As a rule they do not break through walls, but when they do they make the hole near the door or window frame in the 'bagli' fashion. Boys and women are utilized for obtaining information of likely houses.

The dark half of the month is selected and two, four or five form the gang. Three is considered an inauspicious number. One man is chosen to be the leader, and he is styled 'Rangated.' It is his duty to enter the house and secure the property. In return for the greater risk he runs and the position of responsibility he occupies he gets a larger share of the spoil. Houses situated on the outskirts of villages are invariably selected to be broken into as there is less risk in burgling them, and these afford greater facilities for the removal of property and for escape in case of a surprise. Those who remain outside keep a sharp look-out and are provided with stones which they only use to cover retreat in case of pursuit or to assist the leader in getting out of the house.

Highway robbery is planned and carried out in the following manner: A gang of Bhāmpṭas got up as Bhāts (fortune-tellers) seek out their prey in big fairs and bazars. So disguised they ingratiate themselves with people who are apparently well-to-do and worth robbing. Finding out all about their intentions in respect to departure homewards, they lay in wait for them and loot them on the road at some convenient spot.

In the same disguise they also visit villages and getting hold of some communicative lad they ascertain from him names and other particulars about well-to-do persons in the village. They then proceed to question the boy about domestic occurrences in the families and find out all they can. Thus primed they visit a house, surprise and convince the occupants of their skill by the way they are able to accurately 'tell' incidents in the family history. Encouraged, they go on to predict that if certain charms they possess are used there will be a birth or some other auspicious event and rejoicing in the family. Females are, as a rule, imposed on in this way and persuaded to part with pieces of jewellery in payment for this charm. They also in the same way obtain admission to a house, mark down where valuables are kept, the best way of getting at them and then, at a suitable opportunity, commit a theft.

Bhāmpṭas generally leave home in batches of eight or ten splitting up into smaller parties later on and working from some

central base. When away from their homes they invariably assume fictitious names and pass themselves off as Maráthas or members of any caste other than their own. Needless to say they never, unless confronted by Bhámpta 'informers,' or experienced police officers who know Bhámptas, when arrested on suspicion or taken red-handed, give their real names and very seldom the names of their villages. Neither will they recognise nor implicate any one of their confederates. When arrested up-country however, and a long way from their homes they not infrequently disclose the names of their villages correctly but never their own.

In crowds, at fairs, landing places, temples and in railway third class passenger sheds and on bazar days, they will work in small gangs of two three or four, often accompanied by a boy. While one stealthily removes an ornament, picks or cuts off a pocket, or, to cover his actions, jostles or hustles up against his victim in the crowd and forcibly removes what he is after, the others, men or women as the case may be, are at hand and so dispose themselves as to quickly and cleverly pass, if necessary, the property stolen, from one to the other till, in an incredibly short space of time, it is far away. Thus, if perchance the victim of the theft feels he has been robbed and seizes or taxes the culprit, there is nothing on, or in the appearance of, the respectable and innocent-looking Bhámpta thief to give him away and of course he immediately waxes eloquent in virtuous indignation at the accusation.

The boy is made use of to give signals and draw off attention if need be, from the culprit either before the theft is accomplished or after, as circumstances require. Other methods are as follow:—If the booty to be secured is a bundle under the head of a man dosing or asleep the Bhámpta will prick the sleeper's feet while his confederates remove the bundle the moment the man starts up to see what has bitten him. If a bundle belonging to some woman seated on the ground is coveted, a male Bhámpta will squat in front of the woman to make water. When the woman modestly averts her face or turns round, a confederate makes away with her bundle.

The Bhámpta is above all things resourceful and ingenious. He beats his child, who with cries and screams rushes to a well-to-do person close by, who comforts it, only to discover later on that he was relieved of some valuable, whilst the child he sympathised with and who has been trained to kick and scream was being dragged away from him. The substitution of

a bag identical in shape, colour and size but containing copper coin or even pebbles, for a bag of silver belonging to a shroff, while the latter's attention is momentarily diverted by a confederate, is another of the Bhámptas's dodges for making a haul.

These instances suffice to demonstrate the ingenuity a Bhámpta brings to bear on his work. He can adapt himself to practically any situation and vary his side-play and *modus operandi* as circumstances require.

While working on railways Bhámptas thief chiefly at night of course, rarely or never alone, and in third class carriages and waiting rooms, if possible when other passengers are asleep. They usually work in twos and threes. To avoid recognition by police they are very careful of course in selecting stations from which they depart and at which they alight. They have so many ways of disguising themselves that it is difficult for any but really experienced police officers to identify them.

Lieutenant Colonel Portman, a former Superintendent of Police on the G. I. P. and B. B. & C. I. Railways, in an interesting note written in 1887, describes their *modus operandi* concisely and accurately as follows :—

“Two or more Bhámptas go to a station dressed in some sort of disguise or in good clothes and taking a canvas or carpet bag with them, purchase tickets for some place far or near; they then look out for passengers also having bags which look as if likely to contain something valuable, and they follow such persons into the same carriage and, sitting near, endeavour to enter into a conversation, ask them where they are going and at what station they intend alighting. After a time it begins to get dark or, if it is already dark, when others begin to drop off to sleep, one of the Bhámptas lies down on the floor and covers himself with a large cloth under the pretence of going to sleep; his confederate also, putting his legs on the opposite seat, spreads out his cloth, thus more or less concealing the man lying down; this latter, when all appears quiet, begins manipulating the bag he has spotted with his hands to feel if anything valuable is there, and if he cannot succeed in getting his hand into the bag, he takes from his mouth a small curved knife, which all Bhámptas carry concealed between their gum and upper lip, and with that he rips the seams of the bag and takes out what he finds, stitching up the seam, if time and opportunity permit. He then passes up what he has stolen to his confederate and at the next station the two get out of the carriage and either leave the train or get into another carriage, and if there is any complaint of loss, they throw the things out of the window and subsequently go back along the line to recover them; or, instead of cutting open the bag they quietly, whilst the owner is asleep, exchange bags and disappear at the first opportunity and the unfortunate victim discovers what has happened only

perhaps when he arrives at his destination, when he reports his loss to the police, who naturally find great difficulty in tracing up the theft. These men will, as a rule, steal anything however small in value and it is needless to say that sometimes they make heavy hauls, much to the detriment of railway passengers. They also contrive by slitting open pockets etc., to remove articles from the persons of travellers who in a crowd do not notice what is going on and rarely perceive who is the thief."

It is wonderful how clever and quick Bhāmpas, both male and female, are at selecting their victims, fraternizing with them and afterwards ripping open their bags and extracting valuables or boldly removing articles of their luggage. If the passenger places his bag on the bench beside him, the Bhāmpa seats himself alongside the bag and while to all appearances he is slumbering peacefully or the passenger is actually dosing, his fingers are at work. Or, if a passenger shows signs of being sleepy and seems to want room to stretch himself out, the Bhāmpa is very courteous and obliging in offering to make room for him by lying down on the floor of the carriage where bags and boxes are usually kept.

Having secured his booty, the Bhāmpa will either quickly leave the train altogether, change carriages, or, if in danger of suspicion attaching to him or discovery, will pass the property to his confederate or throw it out of the train (making a mental note of the place), as circumstances dictate. If caught before he can get away, he will bluff the people in the carriage, the police and station staff at small stations, to any extent and very successfully put on an air of injured innocence, which often results in his being allowed to depart with many apologies, or, in his being able to slip away while the solitary policeman at the station is wiring to his superiors.

If unsuccessful in the train, they will follow a victim after he alights, keep near him in the passenger shed or *dharamsalā*, and taking advantage of the first favourable opportunity, remove his bag or box.

Bhāmpas will also visit railway stations at night and boldly lift bags and articles from second and even first class carriages. An instance of a particularly bold case of this sort occurred in the year 1898 when a Bhāmpa one night lifted His Excellency the Governor's valuable travelling bag from the brilliantly lighted gubernatorial saloon of the Southern Mahratta Railway, under the very noses of a strong body of police escorting the train. The loss was not discovered till the next morning. The guilty Bhāmpa was some months later arrested by the District Police,

the mutilated bag and some of the contents recovered and the accused convicted.

At stations the off-side of trains should be carefully watched for Bhāmpas, because, if possible, they prefer to alight there if they have made a haul, to doing so from the proper side.

Bhāmpas are also very quick and active at getting into and leaving carriages while trains are in motion, and at walking along the foot-boards. They often board first and second class carriages in this way.

Cheating 'receivers' is committed in this wise. A 'receiver' is decoyed to some unfrequented spot outside the village. Genuine ornaments are shown and the price is fixed. When money is being counted, a confederate in the guise of a police officer is seen approaching, and in the confusion that follows the false ornaments instead of the genuine ones are slipped into the hands of the 'receiver' and all decamp before the bogus policeman arrives. This form of crime often develops into robbery by forcing the 'receiver' to surrender the cash brought for the purchase of the jewellery without giving anything in exchange.

Bhāmpas are apt to be very violent and troublesome when they outnumber the police sent to search a Bhāmpa colony for property or absconded individuals. In such circumstances when the odds are on the side of Bhāmpas, the police are set upon, assaulted, treated with indignity and turned out, the women also joining in the fray. The police should therefore always be in force and prepared for resistance when called on to work in Bhāmpa settlements.

For breaking into houses a steel *ulthani* (the household implement for turning *chapātis*) and a *palli* (iron ladle) or a large pointed knife is used; for picking and breaking locks and opening boxes a small metal hook, a *korne* (chunam scrape), exhibit 42 of the Bombay District Police Museum, betel-nut cracker or a chisel (Plate VII). The homely and domestic appearance of many of these articles disarms suspicion.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

For cutting open bags, pockets, and seams, and severing the fastenings of neck ornaments, the Bhāmpa carries a small sickle-shaped sharp knife known as *ulmukh* or *wāghnak*, exhibit 10, Bombay District Police Museum (Plate VII), a pair of small scissors, or, in a bag round the waist, a piece of broken glass. The first is readily concealed in the mouth between the

gum and upper lip or in a cavity in the throat, and by women in a small pocket in the bodice or in their hair-knobs. He now-a-days also makes use of the ordinary small pocket penknife. These are sometimes concealed in brass snuff boxes or chunam receptacles of suitable sizes. Other articles forming his stock-in-trade when travelling on a railway are a bunch of keys, a needle and thread to stitch up bags which have been cut open, an umbrella, a carpet bag containing a few necessities for ready disguises, perhaps another filled with rubbish of sorts to substitute for some similar bag containing valuables belonging to a fellow traveller and from a recent instance on record, it seems that Bhámpas have now taken to providing themselves with a railway map of India with the names of stations translated into the vernacular.

On his return from a thieving expedition a Bhámpa in the Deccan has to pay a tax of two annas in the rupee to the *pátíl* (also called 'thalmud') of his caste, who in his turn pays to secure the silence of the village officers, who are well aware of the doings of the Bhámpas.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

As a rule stolen property is first buried, often near their halting place when away from home, and after the hue-and-cry is over, it is disposed of piece by piece or wholesale as practicable, through complaisant goldsmiths, Márwádis, liquor-vendors and the like. Property obtained in one province is freely and openly sold in another.

In their villages and at any temporary head-quarters when away on thieving expeditions, Bhámpas soon form connections and find a ready market for the proceeds of their crime among the numerous goldsmiths and Márwádis, only too anxious to turn a dishonest penny. Sometimes they send stolen property to their distant homes by parcel post to some relative for use or disposal according to fancy. But generally they consider it safer or more convenient to turn the stolen property into cash locally and to make remittances home by post office money order to those dependent on them. In this way they and others of the criminal fraternity find the post office a most useful medium for the disposal of their ill-gotten gains.

When sending parcels or money through the post, Bhámpas invariably make use of false names, agreed upon before leaving home or by letter, both for the sender and consignee or payee as the case may be. Money orders and parcels etc. are also sometimes addressed to village *pátíls* or *sírwkars*.

When making enquiries at and near Bhámpta villages regarding the arrival and delivery of parcels and money orders, it should always be remembered that Bhámptas are open-handed and quick in making allies where it pays them to do so.

It is needless to say that they, and especially their women, are very clever at secreting small articles of value about their persons, so when arrested, the latter should be most carefully and thoroughly searched by female searchers everywhere. Property if small, especially coins, will sometimes be found in a cavity in the throat, and occasionally are swallowed. Similarly, searches in their houses must be most thorough, every nook and corner must be examined and suspicious-looking places in floors and walls dug up, for property has been found between double walls, in beams of the roof and other queer places. Seldom if ever however, is property identified as stolen, recovered from Bhámpta houses, and the great difficulty is to get property found with a Bhámpta, identified. Search in a room or apartment occupied as a temporary abode by a Bhámpta living under an assumed name and in disguise, while away from his village, will often result in the discovery of property which obviously has been dishonestly acquired. But probably because the property was stolen in another province, or at any rate a great distance away, and information of the theft has not reached the local police, identification becomes impossible for want of information or knowledge as to the victim of the theft.

It is a fair assumption that the village officers of all villages in which Bhámptas have settled are more or less in league with them and receive a subsidy from the ill-gotten gains of these thieves. It occasionally happens that misunderstandings and quarrels occur among Bhámptas over the divisions of spoils and that the police in consequence obtain a clue.

Rajput Bhamptas.

Distinct from Bhāmpas forming the subject of the preceding note, is a class of pick-pockets and pilferers known as 'Rajput Bhāmpas' who owe their origin to the tribe of Sanorias, the great diurnal thieves of Bhopal and Bundelkhand. They are also known in some districts as Pardeshi Bhāmpas, and are probably identical with the Jowāri Bhāmpas of Edalabad in His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

They are to be found in the Ahmednagar and Sholapur Districts and the Jath State; also in the Usmanābad district of the Nizam's Dominions. In the Ahmednagar District they reside at Kharda and its hamlets Daradwādi, Gitewādi, Pandharychiwādi and at Khandwādi, a hamlet of Balgavān in the Jamkhed taluka. In the Sholapur District they are settled in Sonand, Pare, Hingargi and Narala of the Sangola taluka. These Sholapur villages being situated on the borders of the Jath State, offer a convenient shelter to those of the tribe who being wanted by the police, can cross the border immediately danger is sniffed.

They travel all over India, notably the Madras Presidency and attend the fairs of Kārtikswāmi, Hampi and Gokarn Mahābleshwar, accompanied by their females, and are usually absent from home for a year at a time.

They number about 200 in the Ahmednagar and the Sholapur Districts according to a census taken by the District Superintendents of Police.

A few are dark but most are fair or of sallow complexion. They dress like Marāthas, wear the sacred thread, also *kundalas* (rings or pendants) in the ears. Women never bore their nostrils nor wear nose ornaments nor tattoo the corners of their eyes; those who are not married wear a row of red beads, with a single gold one in the centre, round the neck; widows wear two and married women wear a double string of black beads with a small gold *tāli* or charm attached. Women tie their *sāris* as Brahmin women do, but the front folds of it are left hanging loose instead of being hitched up.

The Rajput Bhámpta is a great consumer of liquor and opium and being a first rate braggart often gives himself away when intoxicated.

Among themselves they speak Hindustani. They can also speak Maráthi, Kanarese, and Telegu fluently. A peculiarity in their speech is that they pronounce *cha* as *chya*.

Dialect and peculiarities of speech.

Slang used.

The following slang terms are peculiar to them:—

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|----------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| tholia | ... | chief constable |
| pondad | ... | police. |
| kapapya | ... | pátíl. |
| cherakalin | ... | kulkarni. |
| kukad | ... | watchman. |
| watmal | ... | Marátha. |
| dokara | ... | old man. |
| dokari | ... | old woman. |
| chawa | ... | child. |
| ghabha | ... | house. |
| pondad aichhe | ... | } the police have arrived. |
| ghabeku chaide | ... | |
| dhoti udhaya | ... | the gang has commenced operations. |

Many possess land but rarely cultivate it, they let it out on terms. The men are nearly always absent from their villages but some of their women stay at home and attend to field work.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

When visiting fairs they assume the garb of Bairágis or Sádhus and add the suffix 'Dás' or 'Sing' to their names; but when exploiting the railway they dress like Márwádis and Brahmins. While moving about in the country they put up in the open at some distance from towns or villages and do not use tents or huts.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

They commit thefts in crowds, at fairs, places of pilgrimage etc. and in railway trains, generally by day only. Stealing by night is punished by excommunication.

Crime to which addicted

As a rule they work in threes; one engages the victim's attention, the second secures the booty, and the third makes off with it to their encampment where it is hidden till the hue-and-cry has subsided. They are experts at removing jewellery from the persons of children, and pocket-picking. They also hover on the banks of rivers and steal the clothing of bathers. When hard pressed they accept domestic service but invariably decamp with their employer's property or pass it out to a confederate who visits the house generally in the garb of a mendicant. A *dhotar* is usually thrown carelessly over the head when engaged in criminal operations.

They use a short penknife, quite unlike the *ulmukh* of the Bhámpta, or a pair of scissors or piece of glass and in addition carry the wherewithal for their disguises.

Jewellery is sold as soon as possible. Other property is buried at some distance from the camp and carried in advance when the gang moves. They dispose of stolen property to their 'receivers,' accepting very low prices, and remit the proceeds by money-order to their homes. Articles of considerable value are not as a rule disposed of but sent home by parcel post.

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

Bhils.

Khandesh and Deccan Bhils may conveniently be arranged under three groups, namely :—

Plain Bhils,
Hill and Forest tribes,
Mixed tribes.

The Plain Bhils, among whom are included Khotils, are known simply as Bhils and in parts of Khandesh as Khotils.

The Forest and Hill tribes are as follows :—

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| Naháls. | Mathwádis or Panáris. |
| Pávras. | Mávchis. |
| Bardás. | Várlis. |
| Dhánkás. | Dángchis. |
| Dhorepis. | |

The Mixed tribes are three, namely :—

Bhilalás (half Bhil and half Rajput).

Tadvis }
Nirdhis } half Bhil and half Musalman.

The large class of ordinary or Plain Bhils and most of the wilder Hill and Forest tribes are again subdivided into an endless number of clans, such as Pavár, Máli, Barda or Sonone, Mori, Ahir, Gaekwád, Shinde, Jádhav, Thákria, Vágh, Ghanía, Pipale, etc.

Gujerat Bhils belong to two main divisions, one of partly Rajput and the other of pure Bhil descent. The former have adopted certain Rajput clan names, such as Baria, Dangi, Ganva, Katara, Makvana, Parmár and Ráthod.

The pure Bhils found chiefly in Rewa Kantha and the Panch Mahals are of two kinds : Hill and Plain Bhils. These two kinds are further divided into numerous clans. But as all intermarry and differ in no way in their habit and custom, it would serve no useful purpose here to name the various clans.

Bhils inhabiting some of the Native States under the Rewa Kantha and Mahi Kantha Agencies and other states adjoining the Modása taluka of the Ahmedabad District and

Jhalod of the Panch Mahals are called Vágadia Bhils. With these Vágadia Bhils the Gujerat Bhils of the Panch Mahals, Rewa Kantha and Mahi Kantha Agencies are said to be socially and criminally intimate.

Bhils inhabit, in considerable strength, the wilder and out-lying parts of Central India, Rajputana, Gujerat and Khandesh. Further north they are found in parts of the United Provinces. South they live in considerable numbers in Ahmednagar and Nasik and there are a few families in Poona. Bhils are also met with scattered over Kathiawad and Cutch, in greater strength in the wilds of Thar and Párkár and in small numbers over almost the whole of Sindh.

A cluster of Bhil huts is called a 'Bhil-hatti.'

Bhils are not a wandering tribe. They do not leave the district in which they are born unless obliged and are great home lovers. The sphere of their activity does not as a rule extend beyond the taluka in which they live and others bordering on it. But when individuals or gangs take to outlawry they may overrun a considerable tract of country and can cover large distances in pursuit of crime or in evading capture.

Subjoined is a statement showing the Bhil population in the Bombay Presidency according to the census of 1901 :—

Population according to last census, and distribution.

Hindu Bhils.

| | | Males. | Females |
|--------------|-----|--------|---------|
| Bombay City | ... | 26 | 7 |
| Ahmedabad | ... | 1,350 | 1,244 |
| Broach | ... | 4,963 | 4,860 |
| Kaira | ... | 367 | 320 |
| Panch Mahals | ... | 36,935 | 37,618 |
| Surat | ... | 2,761 | 2,690 |
| Thana | ... | 115 | 43 |
| Cutch | ... | 175 | 210 |
| Kathiawad | ... | 815 | 810 |
| Palanpur | ... | 7,451 | 6,900 |
| Mahi Kantha | ... | 6,559 | 5,547 |
| Rewa Kantha | ... | 45,982 | 45,404 |
| Surat Agency | ... | 4 | 4 |
| Ahmednagar | ... | 7,183 | 7,291 |
| Khandesh | ... | 73,268 | 72,216 |
| Nasik | ... | 26,002 | 26,016 |
| Poona | ... | 431 | 324 |

Hindu Bhils—contd.

| | | Males. | Females. |
|---------------------|-----|----------|----------|
| Satara | ... | 5 | ..... |
| Sholapur | ... | 65 | 53 |
| Khandesh Agency | ... | 10,073 | 9,618 |
| Surgana | ... | 68 | 46 |
| Belgaum | ... | 8 | 12 |
| Kanara | ... | 56 | 33 |
| Kolaba | ... | 2 | ..... |
| Ratnagiri | ... | 9 | 6 |
| Karachi | ... | 1,473 | 1,513 |
| Hyderabad | ... | 3,553 | 3,273 |
| Shikarpur | ... | 2,601 | 2,067 |
| Thar and Parkar | ... | 11,310 | 9,734 |
| Upper Sind Frontier | ... | 376 | 257 |
| Khairpur | ... | 43 | 43 |
| Total | ... | 4,82,188 | |

Musalman Bhils.

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-------|-------|
| Ahmednagar | ... | 2 | ..... |
| Khandesh | ... | 4,885 | 4,970 |
| Nasik | ... | 4 | 3 |
| Sholapur | ... | 3 | ..... |
| Khandesh Agency | ... | 7 | 6 |
| Surgana | ... | 2 | ..... |
| Rewa Kantha | ... | 6 | 8 |
| Ahmedabad | ... | 11 | 5 |
| Total | ... | 9,912 | |

Animistic Bhils.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|--------|--------|
| Broach | ... | 12,577 | 12,252 |
| Panch Mahals | ... | 11,037 | 12,102 |
| Rewa Kantha | ... | 9,001 | 9,119 |
| Ahmednagar | ... | 13 | 28 |
| Khandesh | ... | 5,669 | 5,916 |
| Nasik | ... | 19 | 9 |
| Total | ... | 77,742 | |

Though belonging to one large family, the habits, appearance and mode of life of Bhils, influenced no doubt by the varying conditions of their environment, differ more or less with the part of the country in which they are domiciled. In respect to those living in Khandesh, the Pāvra of the Akrāni is describ-

Appearance, dress, etc.

ed as a simple, honest and diligent cultivator, and a good, contented, law-abiding subject, giving very little trouble to either the Revenue or the Police authorities.

The Dhānkās of Taloda are a lazy, indolent class. Further west, the Māvchis of Nawāpur are similar to the Pāvras but not quite so industrious. They are a timid, inoffensive, quiet and well-behaved people, much given to drink and fond of finery but truthful withal. Very ignorant and superstitious, they trace all disasters to the influence of witches. Quite different to them are their neighbours the Dāngchis or Dāng Bhils with the Nahāls (some of whom are Mahomedans), the most uncivilized of all the Bhil clans. Stunted in body by their drunken, dissolute life, and dulled in intellect by hardships and poverty, they are shy and unenterprising.

The Tadvis, who are Mahomedans, are a superior race, of fairer complexion and with finer features, more inclined to agriculture than others of this restless class. They are, however, lazy, poverty-stricken and dislike hard work. They make fairly good armed policemen but are poor cultivators. The small Musalman clan of Nirdhis, who dwell in the Jamner and Pachora talukas, are now a fairly well behaved community. But no matter whether they hail from the hills or from the plains, the principal characteristics of the majority of Bhils are the same—incorrigible improvidence, total lack of responsibility, chronic laziness, aversion to work and love of women and liquor, weaknesses from which originate many of their misdeeds, a cheerful disposition and living a happy-go-lucky life, with no thought for the morrow. The Panch Mahals Bhils live in detached houses on their own lands, or in small scattered hamlets, and are generally industrious, hard-working agriculturists, though, like the Khandesh Bhils, they are fond of fishing and *shikār* and are greatly addicted to drink. Their speech, appearance, manners and customs vary considerably from those of the Khandesh Bhils.

The Nasik and Ahmednagar Bhils in their mode of life more closely follow the Khandesh Plain Bhils and are mostly cultivators or labourers. They appear to have lost to a great extent, though not altogether, the love of *shikār* so characteristic of the Bhil and resemble more in character the Kunbi.

The Bhils of Mahi Kantha, Rewa Kantha and Palanpur approach the Panch Mahals Bhils in their appearance and ways and are on the whole a quiet though thriftless class.

The costume of the Hill Bhil is mostly very scanty. He occasionally wears a *bandi* or coat or covers himself with a blanket, but as often as not wears nothing above the waist. For nether garment he wears, as a rule, a *dhotar* extending only to the knee.

The Plain Bhil is generally better clad, and differs but little in his dress from the lower classes in the district he inhabits.

In Gujerat the Bhil prefers to go about with but a loose sheet to cover the upper part of his body, a skimpy scarf or cap adorns his head and a short waist-cloth or *langoti* completes his attire. His wrists will generally be found to bear an odd number of brand marks, and his locks are usually long.

Bhils are mostly dark in complexion and have squat noses, flat round faces and are active, hardy, wiry, quick of vision, of medium, sturdy physique and capable of much endurance. Some in Khandesh are tall and well built, with good features.

The women possess most of the characteristics of the men and are to them what the Kaikádi or Bedar women are to their male folk, namely, capable and faithful assistants and helpmates in criminal enterprises. In features they much resemble the men, but among some tribes, as for instance Pávras and Tadvís, the young women are fairer than the men and distinctly good-looking.

In the Deccan and Khandesh they wear *sáris* and as a rule, bodices; are not very particular about covering their heads, and as often as not go uncovered. Round their necks they wear tight bead or shell necklaces and in parts of Khandesh a profusion of heavy brass anklets extending in some cases from knee to ankle.

The Gujerat Bhil woman's costume consists of a *sállá* or *sári*, an open-backed bodice and a petticoat, all of coarse country cloth. The *sállá* is loosely thrown over the head and body, and the petticoat, instead of hanging down to the ankles, is tucked up, leaving the lower part of the leg uncovered. For ornaments they wear the *bor*, *rakkhdi* and *jhubu*; the first over the forehead, the second on the top of the head and the third attached to the back hair. Their ears are ornamented with metal or wooden rings and chains, the latter hooked into the hair, and their noses with rings. Round the neck the majority wear strings of shells or of glass, or stone beads, while their legs and arms are profusely decked with large brass

anklets or armlets often entirely covering the legs from knee to ankle and the arms. Their ornamentation is completed by extensive tattooing on arms and hands and some few marks on the face and chest.

As a class Bhils are dirty in their appearance and habits but very clannish and will seldom give information against one another. In Khandesh they are mostly tattooed on the fore-arms and between the eyebrows. Their principal deity in Khandesh is the 'Vág Deo' (tiger god) and in Gujerat 'Devi' (goddess). The most binding oath to a Gujerat Bhil is that taken on the name of 'Bára Bij' (twelve new moons of the year).

Bhils believe generally in witchcraft and much of the violent crime amongst themselves is due to this belief.

Of the Bhils found scattered about in small numbers over various districts, little need be said. They appear to have emigrated from their homes in the past in search of work and to have settled down to earn an honest livelihood.

The Plain Bhils of Khandesh and the Deccan have a dialect of their own, known as 'Bhiloni bhásha,' the basis of which appears to be corrupt Hindustani and Maráthi, with Gujerati terminations and variations more or less pronounced according to the tribe to which they belong.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

In respect to the Hill tribes each has its own peculiar dialect varying again with its locale. The Dhánkás talk corrupt Gujerati.

In Gujerat and Kathiawad, Bhils speak corrupt Gujerati containing some Maráthi and other foreign words, with the accent peculiar to the part of the province they inhabit, and sometimes Márwádi. Their pronunciation is broad and they are fond of using the aspirate.

Bhils have few slang expressions but they are able to convey a great deal of meaning by gesticulation. In Khandesh a dacoity is referred to as 'vát pádi.' In the Panch Mahals a policeman is called a 'kágda' or 'tarakdu,' a bow and arrow 'hario kámpto.'

Slang used.

The Hill Bhils live mostly by the collection and sale of jungle produce, gum, honey, grass, *mhowra* flower, felling trees, manufacture of charcoal and cultivation of *nágli*, a coarse grain

Ostensible means of live-
lihood.

grown in the hills. During harvest time many work as reapers and support themselves by field labour generally. The produce of the 'moha' (*mhowra*) forms an important item of Bhil domestic economy. The flowers when dried are cooked in various ways and eaten. A potent liquor is also distilled from them and large quantities are collected and sold to distillers throughout the country. A few among Pāvras earn a living as carpenters and blacksmiths.

Many of the Bhils of the plains are diligent cultivators, some own land, some are village watchmen, field labourers, railway gangmen, carpenters, blacksmiths and many enter Government service as policemen and forest guards.

The Nasik and Ahmednagar Bhils are mostly agricultural labourers, village or private watchmen over standing crops.

The Panch Mahals and Gujerat Bhils are cultivators, labourers, village watchmen, and some, though not so many as before, enlist in the police. They also ply carts for the conveyance of timber, grain and other commodities, and collect and sell forest produce, manufacture charcoal, catechu, baskets, etc.

In 1905 out of about 2,600 Bhils in Ahmedabad, roughly 2,000 were to be found in and around Ahmedabad city alone, where the labour market attracted them during hard times. They live there quietly and peaceably working in mills and drawing hand-carts. Bhil women as a rule take part with their male relatives in earning a livelihood.

As a tracker of game and *shikāri* the Bhil is unsurpassed.

In Khandesh and the Deccan, when on the war-path they will occasionally wear dark or *khāki* coats in order to create an impression that the gang is a body of policemen or forest guards. When committing serious crime they muffle their faces, sometimes smear them with ashes or earth, and women occasionally accompany outlaws in male disguise. When committing crime Bhils do not attempt to conceal their identity by the adoption of disguises. In Gujerat their only precaution against recognition is to tie up their faces.

The Bhil is not preëminently a criminal in the sense the Kaikādi is. He goes into open outlawry on a large scale only as the result of bad years, want, the exactions of money-lenders or some other disturbing cause. When the pinch of agricultural distress is felt, or any other provocation arises, Bhils readily go out in

Disguises adopted and means
of identification.

Crime to which addicted.

gangs and take to looting and widespread depredations. For the rest, his activities are mostly confined to minor crimes against property, an occasional murder the outcome of jealousy, revenge, or a belief in witchcraft. Civilizing influences have of recent years done much to redeem the Bhils from the predatory habits which characterised them in the past. Nevertheless the criminal instinct remains sufficiently strong in the present day to need but little temptation to induce him to revert to the roving life of the freebooter and depredator.

Among the various tribes, the Khotils and the Tadvīs are the most criminal, and it is a noteworthy fact that during the last fifty years the most dangerous Bhil outlaws have been Khotils. These are at once the most lawless and sporting of all the Bhil tribes and it is from their ranks that the most daring and reckless outlaws, who from time to time have preyed on the countryside and made their names a terror, have sprung. Notorious outlaws are often at large and keep the field at the head of gangs for years together, but apart from these, a large number of Bhils 'go out' for petty offences and for some time give little or no trouble to the police till fired by some one more daring they readily join a criminal gang.

Dacoity or highway robbery of parties returning from weekly markets is a favourite form of crime. Those living in the plains and the Dhānkās of the hills, commit house-breaking and theft and are given to looting goods trains during times of scarcity.

Tadvīs often indulge in crop raiding and burglaries. Khandesh lowland Bhils on the Taloda side are further credited with a disposition to enter into league for the commission of dacoity with Rohillas and Pathāns who play the part of instigators and 'receivers.'

Speaking broadly, the Hill Bhil is less criminal than his brother of the plains. The commonest crime attributed to the Māvchīs of Nawāpur is the illicit distillation of liquor and the occasional murder of some old woman supposed to be a witch.

With the exception of a few villages bordering on the Khandesh District, the Bhils of Nasik can hardly be considered criminal as a class, but those of Ahmednagar are addicted to dacoity, highway robbery, burglary and theft, occasionally breaking out into open outlawry.

The Panch Mahals and Gujerat Bhils are not as a class criminal and take to serious crime only when driven to it by privation. They however occasionally commit highway dacoity,

cattle lifting and burglary, and in the plains, crop stealing and petty thefts.

Before embarking on the commission of crime, Bhils always obtain the necessary information as to the resistance likely to be encountered, the locality, surroundings of the house to be looted or burgled and the approximate value of the booty to be secured. They are cautious in their return, endeavour to mislead pursuit by creating false scents, and guard against being tracked by splitting up and going in different directions, taking advantage of hard ground etc. while travelling. When gangs of Bhils are in open outlawry and have become emboldened by success and the failure of the authorities to effect their capture, they are not so particular in respect to the adoption of measures to frustrate pursuit or foil trackers. The tracking of outlaw gangs is, therefore, less difficult, as it is of course not easy for a large gang to travel unnoticed as it leaves tracks and traces of its progress, often articles dropped by the way, as it goes. Police are apt to give up all efforts to follow and catch up Bhils if they cannot pick up the tracks within say a mile or so of the scene of crime. But it should be remembered that ordinary Bhil gangs will disperse, in order to mislead the police, immediately after the commission of an offence, but only to foregather again at some pre-arranged rendezvous. Therefore the police should always make more extensive casts around for footprints and traces of the gang.

There are no special characteristics about the Bhil's *modus operandi* in committing crime. His method is to first terrorize and if resistance is shown, to overcome it by force. Dacoities on an extensive scale are usually the outcome of poverty due to famine, revenge, or some financial injustice, and are generally accompanied by great violence. Till recently the Bhils were greatly in the hands of money-lenders and raids on the most usurious of these were of frequent occurrence—papers and deeds were destroyed, and the money-lender and his family rarely escaped very rough treatment, sometimes even losing their lives. The 'nāik' or headman usually takes an active part in the commission of crime. He generally manages to form friendship with some influential Gujars, Rajputs, Rohillas, or *pâtils* in the neighbouring villages. These men, not infrequently to pay off a grudge, and friendly liquor-vendors give him information about the houses in different villages that are worth looting and supply the gang with food and drink and in every way try to assist and

shield it. Criminal gangs usually camp on a hill within five or six miles of villages where they have local friends. They generally have their wives or mistresses with them to cook their meals, but when kept on the move or driven to a strange locality they are dependent on such local assistance as they can secure for their supplies. At such times they are very watchful and shift their ground at short intervals. Away from the protection of local friends the gang finds it difficult to keep its whereabouts secret. Pressed for food it is often marked down, surrounded and captured. Bhils, unless proclaimed outlaws, rarely show fight. When they do, their shooting is very inferior, and they generally throw away their arms and bolt rather than come to close quarters. When attacked they resist with much pluck up to a certain point, and when pursued, their activity, endurance and knowledge of the hills and jungle-paths makes it almost impossible to overtake them.

A clue to their whereabouts is usually obtained through 'informers' of their own caste, or by watching the houses of their relatives whom they visit. A gang can often be traced by carefully watching the liquor shops in the neighbourhood of the locality in which it is suspected to be operating. The liquor for the daily consumption of the gang is conveyed to it either by those harbouring it or by one or two of their trusted servants, generally women. A 'farari' Bhil should always be looked for at a wedding feast. Women, especially young women going to and coming from the jungles, are worth watching, as the love affairs of the Bhils are numerous, and the dashing young 'farari' is a *persona grata* among the Bhil women, who often leave their husbands and homes for his sake. They also act as scouts and informers to the gang and very expert they are at this work.

Bhils have no prejudice against admitting men of other castes to their gangs or joining others in the commission of crime.

Bhils on dacoity bent do not confine their attentions to a single house but will attack and plunder two or three houses in the same lane or street. While committing crime they often use Hindustani words, and address each other as 'fouzdar,' 'jemadar,' etc. In committing burglary the Bhil generally effects entrance either by boring a hole near the door-frame ('bagli' fashion) or in the wall of the house ('rumali' fashion). He escapes with any thing, no matter how trifling, on which he can lay hands. Boxes are usually carried off before being rifled.

In Gujerat, Bhil dacoit gangs usually number between ten and twenty and, as a rule, are armed with bows and arrows, shields, swords, sticks and sometimes fire-arms. They exploit roads as a rule, and are not addicted to house dacoity. The gang prepares itself for action by partaking of liquor. One or two of the members are posted in trees as look-outs to warn the main body, which lies in ambush, of the approach of carts and travellers. At a given signal the gang rushes out of hiding and proceeds to first stone and afterwards attack at close quarters the quarry. Bullocks are unyoked, carts ransacked and individuals belaboured to make them disgorge their valuables. Any resistance is overcome by rough treatment. The carts and the persons of inmates and travellers having been thoroughly searched, the gang decamps, perhaps driving off the bullocks belonging to the unfortunate wayfarers.

In lifting cattle out grazing in the jungles in charge of cattleherds, usually children, the latter are seized and blindfolded, sometimes even tied hand and foot, while their animals are driven off. The time selected for this is usually shortly before noon or sunset when the cattle are more or less grouped together for watering purposes.

The Gujerat Bhil is not an expert burglar; house-breaking and thefts are, therefore, usually confined to isolated *kutchas* built houses which present no difficulty to break into and involve no great risks.

In Khandesh and the Deccan on criminal expeditions, Bhils mostly carry bows and arrows which they make at home and are experts in using. They also arm themselves with sticks, slings, swords (real or sham), spears, and fire-arms when obtainable. Ladders are not used. Heavy hatchets are carried for breaking through doors.

In the Panch Mahals and the Rewa Kantha Agency every Bhil goes about with his bow and quiver of arrows, exhibit 29 of the Bombay District Police Museum (*vide* Plate I). They are good shots, being trained to the use of the weapon from childhood. In drunken brawls they frequently use their bows and arrows with fatal effect on each other. When committing highway robbery and other serious crime in gangs they also arm themselves with shields, swords, sticks, stones and sometimes fire-arms.

The Khandesh and Deccan Bhil's house-breaking implements are, an iron rod sharpened at one end like a crowbar, or

Stock in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

a large iron nail (*kanthoda*) about nine inches long and sometimes fitted with a wooden handle. The latter is ostensibly kept for dislodging crabs etc.

The Gujerat Bhil has no special instrument for house-breaking but relies on his ordinary agricultural implements. His Palanpur brother is said to use the *khātariyā*, exhibit 46 of the Bombay District Police Museum (*vide* Plate IV) and to be a more finished burglar.

Usually the 'nāik' or leader of the gang receives two shares of the spoil and the rest of the participants share alike in the division. But occasionally there is no regular division of booty; every man keeps what he gets. Property is usually buried or concealed at first and afterwards disposed of with some among their many 'receivers' who are either Gujars, Rajputs, Thākurs, village officials, villagers or liquor-vendors.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

The Bhil when flush of money is very liberal and pays without stint for any help he receives. A rupee for a *bājri* bread has often been given and there are instances on record where a silver *kada* (a wristlet) worth Rs. 15 changed hands for three bottles of country liquor, and a good necklace, part of loot, was given by a thirsty Bhil to a shoe-maker for information regarding the whereabouts of water.

Bhils are not original or clever at hiding their stolen property; they conceal it as a rule in rubbish heaps or stacks, their roofs and generally where it is easy to find. In searching a Bhil hut, particular attention should be paid to fire-places, the floor beneath them, the ground under grinding-stones and receptacles for storing grain. Rafters and roofs should also be carefully searched. If there is a woman in the gang, she is sometimes given at once a few of the stolen ornaments to wear.

Stolen cattle are disposed of at distant markets and sometimes to relations, connections or friends, by whom the animal's appearance is sometimes changed by trimming horns, branding or other devices.





A Bijapur Chhapparband.

Chhapparbands.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Name of criminal class or tribe. | Chhapparbands are known also as Fakir coiners. In a report submitted to Government in the year 1850 it is stated that among themselves Chhapparbands are known as ' Bhadoos ' and up-country as ' Khulsooryas,' <i>i. e.</i> , false coiners. The community is divided into two classes, ' Bâragunde ' and ' Chhegunde.' The former pay twelve ' hoons ' (a gold coin worth about four rupees) and the latter six to the guardians of a bride before they can secure her hand. The two classes dine together but do not intermarry. |
|-------------------------------------|---|

In a report on Chhapparbands, submitted in 1891 to the Commissioner of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, the Inspector General of Police, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, makes mention of a tribe called Rends or Beluchis found in the Muzuffarnagger District of the United Provinces who have the same characteristics as the Chhapparband Fakirs and who seem to follow much the same calling. He states he has not been able to connect the two tribes beyond ascertaining that the Chhapparbands from the south and the Rends from the north seem both to travel as far as Ajmere in pursuit of their trade of passing counterfeit coin. These Rends, like the Chhapparbands, affix ' Shah ' to their ordinary names and absent themselves from their homes for long periods. The above information is quoted merely to prevent the two tribes being confused and the members of the one mistaken for those of the other.

| | |
|----------|---|
| Habitat. | Chhapparbands are Sheik Mahomedans and originally belonged to the Panjab, more especially the country surrounding Delhi. Their present habitat and head-quarters are the Muddebihâl and Bâgevâdi talukas of the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency. There are possibly a few isolated Chhapparbands residing here and there in other districts of the Bombay Presidency, Berars, Central Provinces and His Highness the Nizam's Territory. It is only the Bijapur Chhapparband however who is the inveterate coiner and consequently the subject of these notes. |
|----------|---|

The Chhapparband, like the Bhampta, travels all over India. He has been encountered *
 Sphere of activity and wan- even in Ceylon.
 dering proclivities.

The figures returned by the Bombay Presidency census of 1901 give the obviously incorrect total of 7 females and no males in the Bombay Presidency. The explanation lies probably in the fact that all but the 7 honest females who were enumerated, returned themselves as Mahomedans.

In a report by the District Superintendent of Police, Bijapur, in 1893, the population was shown as follows :—

| | | |
|-------------------|-----|-------|
| Bágevádi taluka | ... | 1,626 |
| Muddebihál taluka | ... | 856* |

Enquiries instituted by the Criminal Investigation Branch of the Bombay Presidency towards the end of the year 1902 showed that there were then 734 adult males, 826 females and 1,025 Chhapparband children, making a total of 2,585.

The following is a list of villages in the Bágevádi and Muddebihál talukas of the Bijapur District in which Chhapparbands reside :—

In Bágevádi taluka.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Abbihal. | Jáywadgi. |
| Akulwádi. | Jiralbhánvi. |
| Agasbal. | Kánál. |
| Ambalnoor. | Kankál. |
| Angadgeri. | Karibantnal. |
| Areshankar. | Kowigee. |
| Baloti. | Kirsál. |
| Basvantpur Hatti. | Kodgánoor. |
| Byalyal. | Majre Jainápoor. |
| Bidnal. | Mannur. |
| Byakod. | Masuti. |
| Chiraldini. | Muddápur. |
| Gani. | Mukartihal. |
| Gonal. | Nágur. |
| Gudadinni. | Nágvád. |
| Hálihál. | Narsangi. |
| Hánchinal. | Onibhánvi. |
| Hangargi. | Ráj nál. |
| Hebbal. | Sanknál. |
| (Hunshyal) Nidgundi. | Shikalwádi. |
| (Hunshyal) Hippargi. | Salvadgi. |
| Iwangi. | Telgi. |

In Muddebihál taluka.

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| A'lkoppar. | Kasinkunti. |
| Balabatti. | Kopp. |
| Balawat. | Masooti. |
| Budihál. | Padiknoor. |
| Gudadini. | Rudagi. |
| Gund-karjagi. | Shiddápur. |
| Handergál. | Tárnál. |
| Hullur. | Wadwadgi. |
| Kálagi. | Yerzari. |
| Kandagnoor. | |

Chhapparbands, as a rule, travel in gangs, large numbers leaving their homes when the touring season opens. This generally commences a little after and ends a little

Habits, appearance, dress,
etc.

before, the Mohurram festival. Only those males who by reason of age, infirmity or illness are incapable of undertaking long and arduous journeys remain behind. The paying nature of the business may be gathered from the fact that during the season for these expeditions scarcely a male Chhapparband used to be found at home. Now-a-days special efforts have been made to settle them and check their movements, with the result that they are unable to slip away unbeknown to the authorities in the way they used to. Chhapparbands, especially their females, are fairly clean in their dress and habits. The ordinary costume of the male consists of a *pairan* or shirt, a loosely-folded turban and a *dhoti* such as is usually worn by Hindus. The females wear much the same garments as do Hindu females of the district they live in. The *choli* or bodice is worn either in the Deccan or, in case of young girls, the up-country fashion. Ornaments, both Mahomedan and Hindu, are indiscriminately worn. Women other than widows invariably wear a silver ring in the left nostril and bear on the whole a good reputation.

Beyond that the Chhapparband's features conform to the poor Mahomedan type, there is nothing distinguishing about his physiognomy. As a rule he is slim and wiry and an excellent walker, and it is astonishing the number of miles the oldest member of a gang can and will travel to throw persons off their track. Though he is not above taking alms at the hands of a stranger, he will decline the hospitable offer of a roof of even a co-religionist, preferring the outskirts of the village where he and his party will camp by a well, river, tank or in a garden or some disused and secluded shrine.

The Chhapparband drinks freely and openly in his caste. When on tour (*feri*) he keeps up the appearance of a holy man and few would suspect the harmless *fakir* to be a clever rogue, swindler and counterfeiter in disguise. Travelling long distances on foot or by rail, as circumstances permit, and begging as he goes, he completely disarms suspicion.

It may not be out of place here to mention how Chhapparbands make provision for the maintenance of their wives and children when leaving home on their expeditions. Some return within the year, others who have the misfortune to be caught and convicted may not return for years. Having a very careful regard for all such exigencies, the head of the household, before he leaves his village, makes adequate provision for his family in one of the following ways—

(a) If he is well enough off, he leaves them with cash sufficient to last for several months, sometimes even for one or two years.

(b) He consigns his family to the care of the village *sāwkār* or *pātil*, who in return gets double the amount spent on them during his absence.

(c) Amongst a party of six or eight there is usually one rich enough to provide, not only for his own family, but for those of others who are prepared to attach themselves to the party and make and utter counterfeit coins for his benefit during the expedition. By virtue of this bondage the poorer Chhapparband works for the richer till such time as he liquidates his debt and then only is he allowed to ply to his own advantage.

The return of Chhapparbands from an expedition is marked by festivities and dissipation, slaughtering of goats and offerings to the local *pir* and by the gift of presents to accommodating village authorities. Each family, it is believed, pays a small annual subsidy to the village authorities.

Chhapparbands are said to occasionally visit the shrine of Zinda Shah Madār situated on the river Bori near the village of Dudni in the Akalkot State. The *mujāwar* at this shrine, who is honoured with the title of Fakirs' Guru or preceptor, is held in reverence by Chhapparbands as a class.

They speak a dialect of their own akin to Hindustani of the eastern part of India with certain peculiarities, for instance,—

tu (thou) is corrupted into *tē*;
tēra (thy, thine) into *tora*;
mēra (my, mine) into *mora*.

They are quick at picking up the language of the district in which they temporarily reside, and speak ordinary Hindustani and Kanarese. The latter is a convenient medium for intercommunication up-country, in the presence of strangers and of those by whom they do not wish to be understood.

Like other wandering criminal classes, Chhapparbands have a jargon of their own. The following are some of the slang expressions they use :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|--|--|
| khágá <i>or</i> khágdá ... | } leader of the gang. |
| baithnárá <i>or</i> baithnewálla ... | |
| bhondar ... | utterer of false coins. |
| nandva ... | a boy. |
| handiwal <i>or</i> hanthiláwálla ... | a boy who usually accompanies a gang. |
| londia ... | a girl. |
| kuttá-khaprálá ... | a sepoy. |
| raynk <i>or</i> hera ... | flesh. |
| khám <i>or</i> pát ... | a mould. |
| ghotari <i>or</i> mandal ... | a party on tour. |
| pheri <i>or</i> ghoti ... | expedition. |
| ágo ... | a counterfeit rupee. |
| karcha ... | liquor. |
| gutará ... | the well-to-do Chhapparband who provides for the families of poorer Chhapparbands. |
| bhátu ... | Chhapparband. |
| numtah <i>or</i> kajwa ... | a stranger. |
| sees <i>or</i> ráng ... | lead. |
| káin ... | tin. |
| dumda ... | lot of gold. |
| chibdá ... | an official. |
| butháni ... | woman. |
| pharshi ... | slang. |
| baígi ... | disguise. |
| thiari ... | a genuine rupee. |
| khám bhurlo ... | commence counterfeiting. |
| thiárá ... | copper money. |
| niar ... | rendezvous. |
| gimalo ... | hide. |
| towagaya ... | eluded the police. |
| tabbajo ... | run away. |
| jodi awati hai ... | our companions are coming. |
| ooprellhogayá, tekolin, <i>or</i> dharlisai. | arrested. |
| khaprálá ánke héragaya ... | police suspect us. |
| naroti ... | ladle. |
| tipi ... | bread. |
| rappatni ... | a sharp knife for milling. |

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| nūka deo | ... conceal it. |
| badlāmkarālay | ... hide rupees in rectum. |
| konsa be cholēmut | ... say nothing. |
| bonah | ... gold. |
| jinibolē | ... do not give out. |
| donk | ... house. |
| niarbuddi | ... proceed to rendezvous. |
| renda | ... road. |
| pāna | ... signs and marks made on the road. |
| nana | ... village. |
| nāvdi | ... police chowki. |
| chimi | ... clay used for moulds. |
| kulkuli | ... toddy. |
| chibdā āyā hai tumri tumri | an official (police) has come, beware |
| jāgā hushār raho. | everywhere. |

Chhapparbands leave information to their caste fellows behind of the road they have taken, by making at crossings a heap of mud or earth measuring about a foot long, six inches broad, and six inches high and drawing an arrow in front of it showing the direction taken. Three such heaps are made at intervals of a hundred yards or so to provide against accident to any one of them. Or, heaps of earth are made on the edge of the road by dragging the foot sideways along the ground. The broad mark, culminating in a heap, thus made, points to the road along which the Chhapparbands may be looked for. Sometimes in lieu of these signs a line with a curl at one end is drawn in the dust on the side of the road followed, alternative routes being closed by a cross. The straight end of the line indicates the route taken. Or again, a few twigs may be placed under a stone on the side of a road, the broken stalks pointing the direction followed. Two lines, each curled at one end, drawn in the dust on a road thus

indicate to members detached from a gang the neighbourhood in which they should cast about to find their comrades.

Chhapparbands ostensibly live by begging; some cultivate lands and a few are village watchmen. In Bijapur one or two are to be found in the ranks of the subordinate Forest and Postal services. The contents of an ordinary Chhapparband's house are certainly not consistent with the oft repeated story that the men depend on public charity while the women toil hard in the fields (at most three months out of the twelve) and make mats and quilts.

The Chhapparband will always be found dressed as a *fakir* with the characteristic tongs and *jholi* (bag for alms) and *kishita* (beggar's bowl) and he acts the part to perfection. When arrested, he exhibits no fear but protests that he is a poor *Madari fakir* who chants for alms or catches and trains young bears. If two or more are arrested together they will usually give different accounts of themselves and their movements. The women, who never accompany their husbands, when questioned, have many and varied explanations to offer as to the absence of their bread-winners.

Each member of a gang leaves his village in his every-day garb, but on reaching a rendezvous he transforms himself into a typical mendicant, rigged out in all the essentials of a *fakir*, catching the *sawál* (the sing-song manner of beggars) perfectly. He wears beads and professes to follow *pirs* or saints, perhaps at Gulbarga, perhaps at Ajmere, or in the Himalayas, according to circumstances. When questioned he will always give a false name and address, but generally names which are somewhat similar to the real ones. The father's name often takes the place of his own, but the suffix 'Shah' is invariably adhered to. A Chhapparband seldom shaves his beard, which, scraggy and lank, combined with a puny voice and the whining patter of the mendicant of the East, enables him to join that large fraternity and thus pass unnoticed, till a slip in the sleight-of-hand, to which he always has recourse when uttering false coins, exposes him. A Chhapparband thus caught, a sharp look-out should be kept and quick search made so that the remainder of the gang do not make themselves scarce, for it is a noteworthy fact that Chhapparbands always work and travel in gangs.

Nominal rolls and finger impressions of, as far as possible, all male members of this class have been and are being prepared and taken. This will admit of their being identified with greater facility than heretofore when found away from their homes. Frequent references are made from all parts of India to the District Superintendent of Police, Bijápur, regarding suspected Chhapparbands, the reference usually taking the form of a request to state whether a man giving a particular name resides in the Bijápur District. As such references do not admit of satisfactory replies, it should be noted that the quickest and best way of getting the information required is to send photographs (6 copies) of the suspected persons to the

District Superintendent of Police, Bijápur, and finger slips to the Finger Print Bureau, Poona.

A Chhapparband rarely if ever adopts the disguise, speech or actions of a Hindu beggar.

The Chhapparband is first and foremost a manufacturer

Crime to which addicted.

and utterer of cast counterfeit coin, both rupees and smaller silver coins.

Through all the years that he has been known as a coiner, dating back to General Harvey's account of 1852, and perhaps even earlier, he has neither improved in his methods nor attempted systematically to take up any more paying form of crime. Despite this characteristic, it must not be supposed that the Chhapparband with his criminal instincts is above purloining small articles when the opportunity offers. That he occasionally does so there are instances on record to show. A casual inspection of the hut of a Chhapparband woman in the Bijápur District disclosed amongst other household effects no fewer than thirteen knives of different shapes and sizes, from an ordinary table knife to a Nepaulese chopper. There were brass pots, unmistakably Bengali, a pair of brand new shoes worn by people in the south of Mysore, and no less than two gunny bags full of wearing apparel, from the rags worn by a *fakir* of an inferior order, to the silk bodices worn by well-to-do Hindu women.

They are also addicted to pony lifting and getting hold, under suspicious circumstances, of children, whom they bring up and eventually adopt as their own. If taxed however, about the latter, they will say they obtained the child in return for some pecuniary consideration. They also entice here and there destitute women to follow them and accompany them to their homes. There is again evidence on record of Chhapparbands having taken to swindling by means of some of the better known 'confidence' tricks. Their *modus operandi* in this direction is well described in the following extract from the Supplement to the Madras Police Gazette dated 12th January 1907 :—

"Two of the convicts related how that, accessory to their usual operations, they occasionally make a good haul in the large cities of Bengal and the other provinces to the north of Madras. Half a dozen of them dress rather expensively—their disguise as *fakirs* being given up for the time being. Two bags identical in appearance are prepared. In one are placed a number of discs of lead, the diameter of a sovereign, and in the other a few seeds of black-gram or the like. Approaching a man who sells sovereigns, a couple of them open a

bargain for a number equal to the discs in one of the bags. The sovereigns are counted and put into the bag containing the seeds. Just at the moment for payment a third man turns up and suggests consulting their master. The bag containing the sovereigns (and the seeds) is left with the dealer. Presently they return and propose a lower rate, whereupon the dealer closes the bargain. They demand return of the bag. The sovereigns are poured out, and if the seeds fall on the sovereigns unnoticed by the dealer, they conclude that he is a person who may be duped. A couple more of them turn up and profess to have brought an offer of better terms from their master and the bag is again refilled with the sovereigns. Another Chhapparband, apparently unknown to the others, now begins to make a fresh bargain for the sovereigns. The men who opened the first bargain manage to substitute the bag of leaden discs for the bag of sovereigns and go away asking the dealer to keep it until they return with the final decision of their master. Then they make themselves scarce.

"Another of their tricks is thus described. They pose as dealers in gold, selling a little below the market price. In one of these two bags (as before) they put counterfeit rupees; the other is empty. Some twenty tolas of gold are also required for this swindle. The dealer, who is approached, is generally a receiver of stolen property. They meet in an out-of-the-way place and fix on a price corresponding to the number of counterfeits in the bag. The dealer counts out his rupees, which are put into the second bag, and they hand over to him the gold. One of the gang, who has been keeping in the background, turns up at the psychological moment and makes a fuss threatening exposure. In the excitement and movement which follow they change the bags, giving the dealer a bag of counterfeits which he thinks are his own rupees returned, and get back their gold."

Chhapparbands when on their expeditions usually proceed in groups of from three to ten, though as many as thirty in a single gang have been known. When leaving home they are unaccompanied by their women.

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

After waiting for the manifestation of some favourable omen, Chhapparbands take their departure surreptitiously, in ones and twos, striking across country, generally on foot but at times by rail, buying short-distance tickets in order to avoid suspicion. They return in the same way, alighting at different places two or three stations away from the one nearest their villages.

One of them, usually an old and experienced hand, is appointed leader and is called 'khāgda.' His orders are implicitly obeyed. He receives a larger share of the earnings than any of the others. There is also a boy attached to every gang and he is called 'handiwal.' It is his duty to do odd

jobs, such as bringing water, tending any animals belonging to the gang, assisting in cooking and serving, as a look-out, spy and so on. Chhapparbands carry their goods and chattels themselves but occasionally pick up or lift ponies and use them as pack animals, or for riding. The gang generally encamps on high ground commanding a good view all round and close to water, such as the *bund* of a tank or the bank of a river. A halting place in the proximity of water is preferred as it affords a ready means for effectually getting rid of false rupees, moulds etc. in case the camp is raided. The 'khāgda' and the boy do not pass counterfeits. This is the work of the others who are called 'bhondars.' The 'khāgda' does the cooking, always remains at the halting place and when on the march carries the earnings of the gang, also the moulds, clay, and the metal (never the false rupees). When the gang moves on, the 'khāgda' generally rides a pony and is accompanied by the boy. The 'bhondars' perform the journey by different routes, do business in villages on the road, and foregather at the new halting place, agreed upon beforehand, in due course. When the leader reaches the new halting ground, his first care is to bury the cash, usually close by, and to either bury the moulds too or hide them in or near grass, bushes, hollow trees or the like, some little distance away. But the encampments of suspected Chhapparbands require careful searching too for incriminating articles such as moulds and counterfeits have been found buried there, even under their bedding. When the 'bhondars' arrive they also conceal the false coin in a similar manner. 'Bhondars,' when itinerating as described above, put up in old tombs, *dharamsālis* frequented by *fakirs*, or *fakirs' makāns*, etc., on the outskirts of villages.

Notwithstanding their numbers and the freedom with which they move about the country plying their trade in their characteristic manner, they have an excellent system of their own by means of which they scatter in small groups and regularly exploit the country without overlapping or laying themselves open to the suspicion of being wandering criminals associated with one another.

Once in disguise and beyond the sphere of recognition, the Chhapparband plies his calling busily and boldly. He manufactures his counterfeits as he moves along, his *modus operandi* being very simple and inexpensive, the materials obtainable almost everywhere. *Gopichandan* and *balaph* or any other sticky clay finely powdered and sifted, is mixed with

a little water and reduced to the required consistency. The composition is then divided into two discs, a good rupee is oiled a little and placed between them, and the clay is pressed and moulded round the coin to the depth of about a quarter of an inch. The mould, which is about the size of a watch, is pressed and manipulated for some time, and a mark is made across the edge of it to ensure the two halves being correctly brought together afterwards. It is then severed longitudinally so as to enable the good rupee to be removed, a small channel to receive the molten metal is cut, and the mould, but for hardening and finishing touches, is complete. It is now dried in ashes and then wrapped in several layers of rag which are then set fire to and thus the clay is baked till hard and ready for use.

The mould or moulds when about to be used are set on their edges in a row in wet cow-dung, the channels upwards, in a position to receive the molten metal which is then poured in.

The manufacture of counterfeits is carried out during the day in some out-of-the-way place and with much secrecy of course, a strict watch being kept against detection. As Chhapparbands are not usually suspicious of natives who are obviously going to bathe or worship, the best way to catch them red-handed is for detectives to get themselves up accordingly.

The metal used is a mixture of copper or *kāsa* and tin; a spoon or ladle suffices for melting it, and after it is poured into the mould, the counterfeit, but for some finishing touches in respect to trimming, milling and polishing, is ready. The coin at its best is but a crude specimen of rough workmanship and finish, defective in every respect and not calculated to deceive any but simple village folk. The milling in the cast shows but faintly and is improved upon by a file or a knife. The counterfeits are sometimes blackened to make them appear old. One mould is capable of being used over and over again according to the care with which it is made and the consistency and fineness of the clay used. An ordinary mould is capable of turning out ten to twenty rupees; a good one of turning out fifty or even more, and some last during the whole of a tour. Having thus manufactured a few spurious coins wanting in finish, ring, colour, hardness and weight, the Chhapparband generally selects as his victim some woman who, induced by a promise of a small commission, gives a rupee in exchange for coppers. Ere the bargain is concluded the pseudo *fakir*, with well simulated surprise, discovers that the rupee given him is not

current in his country. He takes his coppers back and returns, substituting by sleight-of-hand, a counterfeit for the genuine coin he received.

Other methods for passing counterfeits are as follow:— They visit markets with some articles for sale. After a bargain is struck and money has passed, they will cancel the agreement, return the money, substituting some of their spurious coins by sleight-of-hand. Or, they enter shops and make purchases displaying genuine rupees at first, substituting false ones at the time of payment. They also exchange counterfeits for genuine coins of other than British currencies and, where the circumstances appear favourable, even tender counterfeits in payment for small purchases or to obtain change.

They frequent fairs and all large gatherings to pursue their favourite avocation. A gang has been known to earn nearly two thousand rupees in the course of one tour.

When the Chhapparband finds himself in danger of being exposed, he suspends business, destroys all the ready-made moulds and other indications of his real avocation, and makes himself scarce.

Some of the following articles constitute his stock-in-trade:

Stock-in-trade, instruments
and weapons used in committing crime,

a pair of scissors, a broad-bladed knife, tongs, pincers, a spoon or ladle, earthen bowl or pot, a file, some needles concealed perhaps in a small bamboo tube, some linseed oil, gum, antimony, some of the metal and earth or powder used for counterfeiting, a small tin containing black powder, a small grinding-stone, a wooden blow-pipe, right angle tube, touchstone, some mercury, lead, pewter, sulphur, powdered charcoal, a piece of soft skin, some fine dust or salt for polishing, a few 'Hali Sicca' or 'Rājshāhi' coins for duping people, and, if taken by surprise or unawares, the characteristic mould already described.

Chhapparbands have been known to carry the clay requisite for the making of the moulds, fashioned in the shape of a miniature *mahāl* or a *durgāh*, exhibit 23 in the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate II and sometimes in the form of beads worn round the neck. If the clay for their moulds happens to be in a powdered form, they generally try to explain it away by describing it as earth from some sacred shrine. On the move, coining implements and the

materials for the manufacture of counterfeits are usually carried in a leather bag.

When a gang of Chhapparbands is arrested, all should be handcuffed *at once* before any search is made, and each man should be made to sit apart. If such precautions are not taken, one of the gang will start a sham quarrel, create a disturbance and in the confusion moulds and counterfeits are thrown away or hidden. While travelling, the Chhapparband very cleverly conceals his cash and counterfeits in his *langoti*. The front flap of this garment, the part that hangs down, is cunningly provided with a pocket. When a man is searched, he releases his *langoti* from the back and allows it to hang down in front, and the pocket is thus liable to escape notice. In searching a Chhapparband therefore, his *langoti* should be taken off altogether and the article submitted to a careful and thorough examination. He has a still more ingenious way of secreting a surprisingly large number of coins.

An instructive case of this nature lately came to light when a Chhapparband was arrested on suspicion at Risod in the Bássim District and on his person being examined by the Civil Surgeon no less than seven rupees were found concealed in a cavity in his rectum. The Civil Surgeon was of opinion that it must have taken some considerable time to form such a cavity. Medical examination of the persons of Chhapparbands is therefore advisable after police search is over. Nor should the examination of the mouth be overlooked, as instances in which Chhapparbands have concealed coins in their mouths are not unknown. If taken by surprise the Chhapparband will also swallow any counterfeits he may have on his person. In suspicious cases therefore a purgative should be administered and precautions taken to prevent the culprit from removing from his fæces coins passed and replacing them in his rectum, a trick they are apt to attempt.

As soon as possible the proceeds of their handiwork is converted into gold coins and lately a case came to light in Hoshangabád where as many as sixteen gold *mohurs* were discovered secreted in the rectum, in the manner above described.

Chhapparbands make free use of the post office to send the proceeds of their business to their homes, and usually

select places where they have not been operating from which to despatch their ill-gotten gains. The *pâtils* of the villages inhabited by these Chhapparbands befriend and assist them by misleading the police and in other ways. There is an instance on record of a Chhapparband remitting all his gains to his family through a *pâtil's* wife.

Another method of disposing of their earnings is to send these in charge of some selected members of the gang to some suitable place where they are converted into gold and taken home by one or two trusted individuals. The unexpected return home out of season of Chhapparbands is a sure indication of the arrival of a part of the spoil of some gang.



Kaikadis of the Southern Maratha Country.

Kaikadis.

In the Deccan, a sub-division of the Kaikādi class, the profession followed or its criminal tendencies, are indicated by the addition of a prefix. Thus we have :—

Name of criminal class
or tribe.

(1) Chor Kaikādis, also known as Dontlé Dontalmaré and, by reason of some of the class being wanderers, Feristé.

(2) Gāon Kaikādis, also known as Grām, Bootee and Topliā Kaikādis. Some belonging to this sub-division, by reason of being musicians, are called Vājantri, Bājantri, or Sanādi Kaikādis and in some parts style themselves Grahast (gentlemen) Kaikādis, because they are settled.

(3) Kuchadi Kaikādis or Kunchiwālé, who make brushes for weavers.

(4) Mākadvālé Kaikādis, who train monkeys and are akin to No. (3) above.

(5) Kooth Kaikādis, apparently an offshoot of No. (4), as 'kooth' means monkey. These are also known as Lālbazār-vālé or Gansur.

(6) Telingāna Kaikādis (wandering Korchas, Korvas and Pāmlors from the Carnatic and the Madras Presidency, are known in the Deccan as Telingana or Kāmāti Kaikādis).

In the Carnatic Districts of this Presidency the Korwas or Korchas are divided into the following main sub-divisions :

(1) Korwas, known also as Kall (thief) Korwas,

(2) Kaddi or Agadi Korwas (who live in grass or reed huts),

(3) Kunchi Korwas (who make weaver's brushes),

(4) Korchas,

(5) Pāmlors,

(6) Bājantri, Sanādi or Oor Korwas,

and are the Deccan Kaikādis' prototype.

Each sub-division is again divided into four clans or *goths*, namely :—

(1) Sāthpādi,

- (2) Melpádi,
- (3) Kávádi,
- (4) Mendragutti.

In the Bombay Presidency, Kaikádis (in which class for the purpose of this note are included the Korwas, Pámlors and Korchas of the Carnatic) are to be found more or less in all the Districts and States of the Deccan and the Southern Marátha Country. They are numerous too in parts of His Highness the Nizam's Territory, of Madras, Mysore, the Berars and Central Provinces.

So far as this Presidency is concerned, the Districts and States mentioned above embrace the field of operations of this highly criminal class. As a rule the area in which a Kaikádi gang operates, extends to about thirty miles radius from its encampment, but with the prospect of a good haul a gang will travel any distance and even by rail, till not unfrequently a hundred miles or more separates the scene of a dacoity from the encampment of the gang.

Kaikádis will seldom attack a village near the one in the limits of which they are encamped. If during their stay they mark down a promising house, in or near the village they are encamped at, they will remove some thirty or forty miles off, and after the lapse of a month or so, raid the house.

They are restless to a degree, and gangs will wander about over a very extensive area. For instance, Kaikádis who are known to have lived and committed crime in the Poona District have been arrested and convicted in Buldhána and Akolá of the Central Provinces. Similarly, Kaikádis from Sholapur have been arrested in the Belláry District and *vice versa*. Gangs do not, however, wander aimlessly. Their peregrinations are, generally, determined and guided by the information they receive from their informers and accomplices, of whom there are many over the countryside, and the prospects of crime.

Gáon Kaikádis or Oor Korwas are settled in villages and do not wander.

Similarly, many of the Chor Kaikádis and Kall Korwas have fixed abodes. For the rest, all are wanderers.

The following table gives the strength and distribution of this tribe in the Bombay Presidency :—

Population according to last census, and distribution.

| District. | Male. | Female. | Total. | Name. |
|---|--------|---------|--------|-----------|
| Ahmednagar | 421 | 462 | 883 | Kaikádis. |
| Khandesh | 333 | 362 | 695 | Do. |
| Nasik | 33 | 39 | 72 | Do. |
| Poona | 689 | 736 | 1,425 | Do. |
| Do. | 7 | 12 | 19 | Korwas. |
| Satara | 538 | 517 | 1,055 | Kaikádis. |
| Sholapur | 874 | 1,004 | 1,878 | Do. |
| Native States in Central Division | 241 | 275 | 516 | Do. |
| Do. | 2 | 1 | 3 | Korwas. |
| Belgaum | 6 | 15 | 21 | Kaikádis. |
| Do. | 1,611 | 1,746 | 3,357 | Korwas. |
| Do. | 1 | ... | 1 | Korchas. |
| Bijapur | 3 | 4 | 7 | Kaikádis. |
| Do. | 2,173 | 2,392 | 4,565 | Korwas. |
| Dharwar | 3,236 | 3,256 | 6,492 | Do. |
| Do. | 35 | 25 | 60 | Korchas. |
| Kanara | 1 | ... | 1 | Korwas. |
| Do. | 179 | 145 | 324 | Korchas. |
| Kolaba | 58 | 76 | 134 | Kaikádis. |
| Ratnagiri | 1 | 1 | 2 | Do. |
| Native States in Southern Division | 426 | 470 | 896 | Do. |
| Do. | 2,038 | 1,881 | 3,919 | Korwas. |
| Total | 12,906 | 13,419 | 26,325 | |

It is doubtful whether, in respect to a community living the roving and criminal life of Kaikádis, census figures can be regarded as more than approximately correct. However, for the purpose of illustrating the relative distribution of this tribe among the various districts, the table may prove of some use.

Mostly, Kaikádis are a nomadic gipsy tribe. With the exception of a relatively very small number who have taken to agriculture, and those who are settled in villages leading an honest life either as musicians, mat weavers, basket and brush makers and the like and some of the settled though criminal Chor Kaikádis or Kall Korwas, Kaikádis travel over the country

in more or less large gangs accompanied by their women and children, cows, ponies, bullocks, dogs, donkeys and all the paraphernalia of a wandering gang and are all addicted to crime.

In the Bombay Presidency gangs are to be found roving throughout the Deccan and Carnatic districts. Their habitations are temporarily constructed huts or p^hals, which with their other goods and chattels they carry from place to place on donkeys. They usually encamp some little distance from villages in the vicinity of water. Their encampments generally command a good view of the country immediately round them and are full of pariah dogs, fowls, and donkeys.

In some districts they are more troublesome than in others; for instance in Dharwar, Belgaum, Sholapur and Bijapur they are a source of great anxiety to the police.

Ahmednagar, Khandesh, Satara and the Konkan are comparatively but little troubled by them. But in parts of the Konkan Kaik^hadis have their regularly constituted 'informers' and occasionally commit raids below gh^hats.

For purposes of self protection and speedy communication with one another, of approaching danger, Chor Kaik^hadis and Kall Korwas build their huts in the particular quarter of the village they occupy, very cunningly. They are so built with reference to each other as to facilitate prompt inter-communication between the occupants of each.

The Kaik^hadi's features have nothing sufficiently distinctive to be noteworthy. An experienced police officer soon learns to identify him. In build he is of medium height to tall, sturdy, well developed, and active to a degree; fleet of foot, quick of vision and hearing and possessed of great powers of endurance. Both sexes are dark, dirty, and untidy in appearance and habits. They eat every kind of flesh except that of the cow, bullock or buffalo; both sexes are extremely fond of liquor and toddy and all are very superstitious.

In the Deccan, the men dress in a *dhotar*, loin-cloth or short trousers reaching to the knee, a *b^har^habandi* or shirt, a shoulder-cloth, Mar^hatha turban or *rum^hal* and occasionally carry a red *hasvi* (a kind of haversack). The women wear a bodice and a coarse *s^hari* which is not drawn back and up between the legs. They are profusely tattooed.

In the Carnatic, Kaddi Korwas and Kunchi Korwas usually wear *langotis* with a girdle or *kācha* tied round the waist, a *rumāl* or head-scarf and a *dhoti* or *kambli* thrown over the shoulders. Korchas wear *chaddis* (short drawers) or knee drawers (*cholnas*), rarely a *dhotar*, an *angi* or shirt, *rumāl* or head-scarf and a *hachda* (a sheet of coarse cloth) or *kambli* thrown over the upper part of the body. A *dhotar* is generally tied round the waist if a *langoti* is worn. The Pamlors wear a *dhotar*, *angi*, *rumāl*, shoulder-cloth, and almost invariably carry a bag or *jholi* (a species of small haversack) hanging from the left shoulder. Kall Korwas and Bājantri Korwas, both men and women, dress much like the ordinary villagers and are the best clad among Kaikādis in the Carnatic. Kaddi Korwa and Kunchi Korwa women dress much like those of the depressed classes and are generally unkempt and dirty. Korcha women wear the *sāri* in a peculiar fashion, the inner end being drawn up from left to right and round the shoulders to cover the breasts. Unlike other Kaikādi women they do not wear the bodice. They deck themselves with brass (not glass) bangles, and beads round the neck in profusion. Pamlor women wear both bodice and *sāri*, the latter with this peculiarity that the front pleats are turned first outward at the waist and then fastened off inwards under the first fold of the *sāri*.

As already remarked, excepting Oor or Bājantri Korwas and many of the Kall Korwas who are settled in villages, all are wanderers leading a gipsy life. The following are some of the distinctive features of their encampments.

Kall Korwas generally encamp under trees near a river or *nāllah*, are not accompanied by their women and children and decamp after the commission of crime. Occasionally they will be accompanied by one or two young women who cook for the gang. Such gangs are usually difficult to locate.

Kaddi Korwas live in huts made of reeds or grass, are accompanied by women and children, asses, goats, dogs, etc. Their *gonis* or pack-saddles are invariably lined outside with *leather*.

Kunchi Korwas live in huts similar to those of the Kaddi Korwas and are accompanied by women and children, cows, bullocks, asses, dogs, *monkeys*, and pigs. They play the *pungi* (blow-gourd), exhibit 44 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, dance with bells on their ankles, and make their monkeys perform. Women walk about the town fortune-telling.

Korchas live in mat huts, are accompanied by their women and children, *pack-bullocks*, donkeys, cows, goats, dogs, etc. They keep cattle in considerable numbers.

Pámlors live in páls made of *kambli* (country blanket) with a coarse cloth cover; are accompanied by their women and children, *ponies*, bullocks, pack-asses, cows, dogs, etc. Mat screens are generally erected across the open ends of the páls.

All except Kunchi Korwas, encamp at a distance from villages.

With the exception of Kall Korwas and Pámlors, between whom intermarriage is allowed, members of the different subdivisions interdine but do not intermarry.

Kaikádi and Korwa women are as hardy as the men and are expert in spying, warning the men of the approach of danger, obtaining information by house-to-house visitation under the pretext of selling baskets, etc., hiding and disposing of property, misleading and hampering the police when occasion requires, conveying food for the males and information regarding the movements of the police and generally assisting their men in crime and evading justice. They are taken into confidence when criminal expeditions are embarked on and look out for the return of the men, intelligently anticipating their requirements.

They are immoral, more particularly in their community. Often one who is young and attractive is told off to do spokesman for the gang and even to go further, if need be, to get round some impressionable or troublesome police or village officer. In playing the part, many a Kaikádi woman is an adept.

In the Deccan the headman of a gang is styled 'náik.' He is selected by lot on his merits as a criminal and promising leader, and his word is law. In the Sholapur District women have occasionally risen to influential and responsible position in the caste, and the wives of 'náiks' often carry on the duties of their husbands if the latter for reasons of State cannot appear in public.

In the Carnatic, the equivalent of the 'náik' is, among Kall Korwas, the 'rangáiet'; among Pámlors, the 'pulákunja'; among Korchas, the 'bermunsa'; and among Kaddi Korwa women, the 'pulákulsi.'

The 'rangáiet' of the Kall Korwas and the 'pulákunja' of the Pámlors are selected on their performances as expert robbers, their capabilities as ready spokesmen and leaders. They are married to the *kangatti*, house-breaking implement, exhibit 53 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate IV, and a knife, with the usual ceremonies, and thereafter they are privileged to receive 20 per cent. of all loot besides the share to which they may be entitled by reason of participating in the crime.

Kaikádis of this Presidency can, as a rule, speak rude Maráthi or Kanarese, sometimes both. Dialect and peculiarities of speech. In the Deccan and among themselves they speak corrupt Telegu or Arvi; in the Carnatic, corrupt Arvi, each with certain peculiarities impossible to describe. Pámlors converse with one another in corrupt Telegu.

They have a slang of their own and a system of secret signs is known to be used, but details as to all the latter are wanting and their slang is believed to vary with the tracts occupied by them. Slang used.

In the Southern Marátha Country the following slang expressions are used:—

By Kall Korwas.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-----------------------|--|
| koyka | ... constable. |
| wanchu | ... came. |
| pansa kollu | ... implement for house-breaking. |
| bétwani | ... axe. |
| tenwolla | ... chief constable. |
| rangáiet or pulákunja | ... náik or leader of gang. |
| sulla | ... bribery. |
| kelmul | ... rupees. |
| yalli | ... silver. |
| sonimu | ... gold. |
| kunjappa | ... sling. |
| shidrámapa | ... stick. |
| kollulleppa | ... stone. |
| yai yai | ... pelt with stones. |
| tigadu | ... stolen property. |
| yelagu, pingali | ... torch. |
| nondabacka | ... a hole made near the door-frame ('bagli' fashion). |
| mankalu | ... a hole made in the wall ('rumáli' fashion). |

By Pámlors.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-------------------------------|---|
| mullawádu hullanki | ... constable. |
| nondabacka | ... a hole near the door-frame ('bagli' fashion). |
| shilákatti <i>or</i> vakhpedu | ... house-breaking implement. |
| ullamukh | ... knife. |
| manaklu | ... a hole in the wall ('rumáli' fashion). |
| walkamu | ... stolen property. |
| yalim-kattelu | ... rupee. |
| yalim | ... silver. |
| sunimu | ... gold. |
| nematu | ... receiver or villager. |
| peradu | ... house. |
| mengadu | ... chief constable. |
| permashwádu | ... higher authorities. |
| walimudu | ... run, decamp. |
| warsuso | ... they have come. |
| pulákunja | ... náik or leader. |
| kávkár | ... walikár. |
| sulla | ... bribery. |
| unsu, kottu | ... strike. |
| unsalu | ... dacoity, robbery. |
| pingáli, yelagu | ... torch. |
| mulpawádu | ... liquor-vendor. |
| gowndlawádu. | ... toddy-seller. |

By Deccan Kaikádis.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| koyka <i>or</i> náí | ... sepoy, policeman. |
| wállakadu | ... chief constable. |
| kangath, sillákal, <i>or</i> mull-kadi. | implement of house-breaking. |
| sojni | ... search. |
| koyka wanchu | ... police have come. |
| pakka phohu | ... an expedition has started. |
| worfu | ... run or decamp. |
| worsuso | ... they have come. |

The following are some of the signs used by Kall Korwas and Pámlors of the Carnatic : —

A guttural sound with the mouth closed, somewhat resembling the cry of a 'night jar,' is a signal to indicate 'the police are coming.'

Applying the palm of the hand to the mouth, a squawking noise between the cry of an owl and a jackal is emitted and is the signal to 'disperse' or 'run away.'

Kissing the palm of the hand loudly, a squeaking noise is made like the cry of a mungoose when grasped by the neck. This is a signal to those lagging behind to come up.

When hiding in ambush on the look-out for a lucrative victim among passers-by on a road, to arrest the attention of an individual and cause him to look round and about with a view to taking stock of the ornaments on his person and deciding whether he is worth looting, the hand is put to the mouth and a sound resembling the cry of an infant is produced.

To call a man who is at a great distance, the cry of a 'bháloo' (solitary jackal) is imitated.

To collect the members of a gang who have dispersed on approach of danger, the cry of a fox or an owl is imitated. (This is in use among Deccan Kaikádis too who also whistle on such occasions.)

To give the danger signal to a burglar who is inside the house, his confederates outside imitate the mewing of a cat or the bleating of a goat.

To indicate the direction taken by a gang, to others who may follow after and come across the deserted encampment, a spray from the bough of a tree is broken off and is laid on the ground near the cooking stones, with the broken end pointing in the direction taken, a foot-print being impressed at right angles to the spray.

Where two or more roads meet, a sign thus—



is made at the crossing, the free end of the line indicating the direction taken; or a line is drawn on soft earth with the whole side of the foot and ended off with a foot-print pointing to the direction taken. Again, a fresh-cut twig or a leaf with a stone placed over it is left in a prominent place, the broken end or stem pointing to the route taken by the gang.

When off roads and striking across fields, forests or hills, leaves of a tree are strewn at short intervals to notify the track of the gang to friends following.

When so situated that talking or making any special sound is undesirable, scratching the forehead with the fingers is the sign to a confederate to make himself scarce.

In similar circumstances when it is desired to instruct a confederate to proceed in a certain direction, that direction is indicated by the elbow, the hand being used to scratch the head.

These are, mat weaving, basket and brush making and occasionally among the Deccan Kaikádís selling, retouching, and repairing grinding-stones. Their baskets are

Ostensible means of livelihood.

very coarse and in one case in which a number of known criminals of this tribe in the Deccan professed to be basket makers, it was proved by experiment that three skilled able-bodied men working continuously for four hours, were able to produce but two baskets worth one and a quarter annas. Kaikádís in the Deccan have here and there enlisted in the police and, except that they are dirty and slovenly, have given satisfaction.

In the Deccan some make money by prostituting their females and some do earth-work; others are musicians, while some train snakes and monkeys for exhibition and snare and trap animals. A very few are honest cultivators, while some occasionally take up land but work it by hired labour or rent it out and there is one instance reported of a Kaikádi *sáwkár* in Sholapur but he is not above suspicion. In parts of India outside the Bombay Presidency, it is understood some are gymnasts.

In the Carnatic, some Kall Korwas are cultivators, others basket and mat makers. Kaddi Korwas go in for mat-making and their women beg from door to door in villages. Kunchi Korwas play the *pungi*, beg, exhibit performing monkeys, snare game, make ropes, small baskets as toys for children, net bags (*shinkas*) which are suspended from the roof and are used by natives for holding pots containing oil, milk etc. and weaver's brushes. Their women earn money too by tattooing.

Korchas weave mats, make ropes and *shinkas*, deal in cattle and are grain carriers on a small scale between the inland and coast towns. Pámlors play the *pungi*, train snakes and beg. Vájantri Korwas are settled, cultivate lands, are village musicians, make baskets of palm leaves, ropes, *shinkas*, and brooms.

In the Deccan, Kaikádís often try to pass off as Waddars and to this end carry spades, their women discard the *choli* (bodice) and the men occasionally wear *cholnás* (short loose knickerbockers). When moving about singly or in twos and threes they will adopt the role of 'ghungdi

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

tunnewalle' (repairers of blankets), Maráthas, Gosávins or Jangams.

Kall Korwas and Pámlors by way of disguise, dress themselves up and adopt the role of Lingáyats and Jangams (Lingáyat priests), fortune tellers, Dássayyas with conch shell and bell, Waid or Shástri golls (medicine men) and musicians playing the *sanádi* (flageolet). So disguised, they gain admission to houses, temples etc., and pick up information. They also describe themselves sometimes as shepherds. The criminal Kaikádi will also pose as belonging to the harmless kind such as Kunchi or Bajantri Korwas. In the Deccan, Kaikádis often move about singly or in pairs as Banias and in the Carnatic as well-to-do Maráthas, on the look-out for a match for a son or a daughter.

Pámlors and Kall Korwas occasionally open a *manigár's* (petty hardware) shop in some village or town and pass themselves off as *manigárs* in order to prospect the village. Kall Korwas dress up as wealthy *sáwkárs* and visit a town or village putting up in the houses of concubines in order to pick up information. Most Kaikádis have many *aliases*.

A criminal gang is to be marked by its general air of prosperity, the frequent absence of the able-bodied men and the life of ease and indolence led.

When, as is often the case, a gang is found to consist mostly of women and children and feeble old men, it is a pretty sure indication that the able-bodied males are absent on some criminal expedition, are evading arrest, or are hiding not far off in the vicinity of their camp to keep out of the way and give the encampment an air of innocence. The same applies in the case of the settled Kaikádis of the criminal type.

If the women and children of such gangs are shadowed, the whereabouts of the absentee males may be traced, because the latter are dependent on the former for their food.

Questioned, the women will usually explain that their husbands, sons, brothers etc., are dead.

First and foremost Deccan Kaikádis, Pámlors and Kall Korwas of the Carnatic are daring and relentless dacoits. They regard dacoity as a hereditary profession. They also commit burglaries and occasionally highway robberies. They are further addicted to passing off brass *mohurs* and beads for gold ones, and to

Crime to which addicted.

cheating by the 'confidence' trick, that is, decoying 'receivers' to a lonely spot under the pretext of offering stolen property for sale and there relieving them of their cash.

Kaikádi gangs pilfer and rob the neighbouring crops and lift sheep, goats and fowls which they kill and eat at once as a rule, and all the while they carry on some innocent occupation as an ostensible means of livelihood.

Kaddi Korwas chiefly pilfer agricultural produce, lift sheep, open grain-pits, carry off grain and commit highway robbery and dacoity. Their women beg, and while so employed, are experts in breaking open and picking locks and entering houses by day with a view to commit theft. They are incorrigible thieves.

Kunchi Korwas are the least criminal of all wandering Kaikádis and do not commit serious offences.

Korchas are expert highway-men, and cattle, sheep and goat lifters. They rarely join Pámlors or Kall Korwas in the commission of house dacoity and burglary. Their special form of crime is dacoity and robbery on high-roads.

Oor Korwas or Bájantri Korwas are reported to be the least criminal of all Kaikádis. They are settled, and as a class are law-abiding like the ordinary cultivators.

Kaikádis have been known occasionally to kidnap minors whom they part with for a consideration to persons requiring children.

House Dacoity.

Having acquired, perhaps through women who are employed to collect information and prospect buildings under the pretext of selling baskets and retouching grinding stones, or been given promising information by an outsider whom they can trust, Kaikádis, Pámlors and Kall Korwas will often travel phenomenal distances in the pursuit of crime. If information is given by an outsider, the house is first reconnoitred by a member of the gang and the day of attack is usually kept secret from the informant. The member of the gang who has acquainted himself with the position etc. of the house, imparts his knowledge to his confederates by drawing a rough chart on the ground showing the exact topography of the house.

Needless to say, Kaikádis take full advantage of the opportunities afforded them by association with other bad

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

characters in jail to acquire information and plot crime to be committed on release. In their preliminaries, their methods and the manner of proceeding to and returning from the scene of a dacoity, whether house or highway, they show no noteworthy difference from any other criminals and criminal classes. All are influenced of course by the dictates of self-preservation. For instance, they travel as far as possible after dark and before dawn, avoid high-roads and places where police are likely to be encountered; if day breaks before they can get home, they will hide in jungles and lonely places, break up into smaller parties and so on. They will sometimes engage *en route* a bullock cart for part of the journey to and from the scene of a distant dacoity and to disarm suspicion they will tie a goat to the tail of the cart to give the impression that the party is on the way to a fair.

They believe in good and bad omens and of course use violence when this is necessary, and even when not, for they are very cruel under excitement. Before starting on a criminal expedition they feast and indulge in liquor and toddy freely, and propitiate the goddess Bhavāni. In the Carnatic they worship the hatchet and *kangatti*. This ceremony is known as 'Gavi.' Similar ceremonies and feasts are indulged in after a dacoity and of late some in the Deccan have taken to the 'Satya Nārāyan' worship, employ a Brahmin for *poojā* and distribute *dakshinā* (alms) to Brahmins after a successful raid. In order to attain their object or secure their retreat they will stick at nothing, not even homicide. In a Kaikādi-ridden area the perpetration of a dacoity or burglary with exceptional violence or cruelty may almost certainly be regarded as a Kaikādi crime. At all events it is a safe working basis to begin on, particularly if bamboo or fresh-cut sticks have been left behind by the dacoits, betel-nut has been spat about or shoes have been stolen from the house. Between eight and midnight is the usual time for delivering an attack, though sometimes dacoities have been committed during the small hours of the morning.

Before actually committing the dacoity, the members of the gang divest themselves of their superfluous clothes about a mile or so from the scene of the offence and there the leader of the gang gives instructions regarding the disposition of the members and the tactics to be followed. This spot is generally selected off the direct route between their encampment

and their objective, and here, after the commission of the offence, some of the less valued of the stolen property is sometimes left to mislead the police in respect to the direction in which the gang has made off home.

The building to be attacked is invariably rushed, the Kaikádís clambering over back walls and on to flat roofs, helping each other up, forcing open doors with an axe (their favourite weapon) for choice, or with heavy stones. Sometimes thorns are placed across lanes and approaches, and doors of neighbouring houses are chained from outside to prevent assistance reaching the inmates of the house attacked.

Like other criminals they conceal their identity as far as possible when committing crime by baring the body to the waist, girding up their loins, wrapping up their heads and faces with cloths, occasionally smearing their faces with ashes or powder, and by the use of Hindustani words such as '*Kalekhán*'; '*Sambhálo, Jamadár*'; *batáo*; *máro*; *garib lok mat áo*; *bandoók bháro* etc., to scare the more venturesome away. In the Deccan, occasionally the roughly-made ladder or climbing pole described further on has been found on the scene of a dacoity known to be the work of Kaikádís. While some of the gang swarm on and into the house carrying torches or smashing open windows and doors with axe, crow-bar or large stones, others armed with slings, sticks etc., will keep up a shower of stones on all approaches to the house and attack any one who may attempt to come to the rescue, often, in the Deccan, exploding 'potash bombs' to terrify and give the impression that the gang is armed with guns. Kaikádís, in order to ascertain the place of concealment of money and valuables in the house, and to prevent any of the inmates escaping, will sometimes first collect the occupants of the house and either confine them in a room, the door of which is chained from outside, or some of the Kaikádís will mount guard over them while the owner of the house, or some one whom the Kaikádís know or think is acquainted with the place where the valuables are kept, is intimidated to make him point out the spot. Should he refuse, the Kaikádís will proceed to any length of cruelty to make him do so. While this is proceeding, some of the gang break open receptacles and others relieve the females of the ornaments they are wearing.

When the leader of the gang thinks it is time to be off, he gives the signal '*Nadá*' or '*Khush*' in the Deccan, '*Kália*' or '*File*' in the Carnatic, and on this all the Kai-

kádis clear out of the house and assemble outside, where the leader, after satisfying himself all are present, gives the word ('Pánjra,' in the Carnatic) and the gang decamps to the rendezvous and thence home, selecting if possible hard ground so as not to leave tracks. Those carrying the stolen property walk in the middle and are escorted by the rest of the gang. Instances are known where Kaikádis have left behind at the scene of the offence, shoes (probably stolen in some other case), clothes, etc., of the kind worn by other castes in order to mystify the police. While retreating from the scene of an offence, Kaikádis will now and then discard part of the loot near some village to throw suspicion on it.

If any member of the gang is wounded or secured by any of the villagers during the commission of a crime or the retreat, the remainder will spare no efforts and stick at nothing to rescue or carry him off. If one of the gang is killed during the resistance or pursuit by villagers or police the others, if possible, carry the body away with them.

If the encampment is a long way off, *jágrí*, ground-nuts, etc., are openly purchased in some village *en route* by one or two of the gang who convey these to the main body in some secluded spot and after a hasty meal the retreat is continued.

Kaikádis, as a rule, attack but one house in the village, one previously marked down, and do not go in for the promiscuous looting of several houses.

In a case on record it appeared that one of the gang had months before, under a disguise, done a few odd jobs for the complainant and had afterwards been lost sight of. He had of course marked down his prey, and his gang, after a suitable interval, assembled in ones and twos from all points of the compass at a pre-arranged rendezvous, committed the crime and made off in like manner. It was more than suspected that a Brahmin living in the vicinity had worked hand-in-glove with the gang and this is quite probable as it is frequently said that this form of aid is resorted to.

The above displays in a striking manner, the great advance in methods in a comparatively primitive criminal people.

Burglary.

In committing burglary, if entry is to be effected through a hole made in a flat roof, a piece of stick is sometimes

placed across the hole, a *pagri* or rope attached to it and by this the intruder lowers himself into the house. In breaking into a house through a wall the Deccan Kaikádi favours a hole at the bottom of the wall through which the burglar enters. While one or more individuals ransack the house, the others keep watch on all sides.

In the Carnatic, Kaikádis either make a hole near the door-frame (in the 'bagli' fashion) called 'nondabacka' and inserting an arm remove the bolt or unchain the door, or enter through a hole made at the bottom of the wall ('rumáli' fashion) called 'manakalu.' Before ingress, a *kambli* is wrapped round the end of a stick which is then inserted to receive the blow should any inmate of the house have been aroused and be standing by to attack the intruder.

Pámlors and Kall Korwas are most expert burglars and the hole they make in a wall is neat and not unnecessarily large.

Kaikádis do not, as a rule, outrage women when committing crime nor remove the *mangal-sutra* (necklace), *kekat-kewdi* (hair ornament) or toe-rings from their persons, but show no tenderness if other valuables have to be removed. They respect the persons of infants.

Deccan Kaikádis if unsuccessful in the first attempt will try other houses before giving up the venture.

Highway Dacoity.

Korchas and Kaddi Korwas are experts in this form of crime. Gangs of varying strength, from five to twenty in number, will leave their encampments and go long distances for the purpose. They proceed to some secluded spot favourable for concealment, two or three miles off the high-road to be exploited. Here they divest themselves of superfluous clothes etc. and the 'bermunsa' leads the gang to a suitable part of the road as far distant as possible from villages. The party then breaks up into two or three groups which are disposed at short intervals along the road in ambush, the 'bermunsa' with a confederate taking up a position on the road. On the approach of a cart, tonga or passenger worth looting, the 'bermunsa' gives the signal and forthwith the different detachments rush out of hiding and commence operations. If a passenger has a weapon of offence, the 'bermunsa' attacks him first and snatches the weapon away. Bullocks or ponies are invariably unyoked and the conveyance tipped up. Passengers are

belaboured, valuables snatched away, or off their persons, and occasionally they are left tied to trees to prevent their carrying information. The foray over, the gang makes off with the booty to the spot where their clothes have been left. Having recovered these, they make off rapidly till a halt is called, often twenty miles or so from the scene of the exploit. In this way they will operate on several roads and commit several dacoities before returning to their encampment with the booty. Women do not accompany them on such expeditions.

When committing crime they paint their faces and gird up their loins and are usually armed with sticks, stones and slings. They usually operate during the day, less frequently after dark.

Kaddi Korwa women are expert thieves. The female leader is designated 'pulākulsi' and gets four shares of the spoil, her husband being entitled to two. They will roam about in villages and towns begging but with an eye to more serious business. One of their many methods is as follows: Having marked down a house with a few occupants, while some post themselves near the back door, others in front start quarrelling and assault one another even to the extent of drawing blood. When the inmates of the house run out to interfere, the confederates in the rear enter the house by the back door and make off with what they can lay hands on.

Confessions among Kaikādīs are rare.

Deserted encampments of Pāmlors and Kall Korwas may be recognized by the manner in which, before leaving them, the cooking stones are closed up into heaps, each containing three or more stones and a profusion of chewed betel-nut stains, for the Kaikādi is very fond of chewing tobacco and *pān-supāri*. Before leaving an encampment, Kaikādīs, besides collecting the stones as described above, smear their foreheads with the ashes from the fire-places. If *patrawllis* (trays of leaves used as plates) made of *āg* or *ākda* leaves, are discovered lying about, they are a sure indication of a Pāmlor encampment.

The division of property obtained by crime is put off to a convenient opportunity when the affair has blown over. Members of other castes joining a Kaikādi gang are given cash only.

In some Deccan gangs the ' náik ' or leader takes all the plunder, and where this is the practice he supports the entire gang and has to cater for it well, especially in respect to flesh and liquor, of which Kaikádís are very fond, providing necessities and luxuries for all the families. In others, whether in Carnatic or Deccan, the leader gets two shares, each of the other members partaking in the venture getting one. But in any case, whether the leader takes an active part or not, he gets a share of the loot. Usually, a convicted Kaikádi gets his share of all spoil acquired by the gang during his absence. If killed in the commission of crime, his family continues to get a share till his son or some male member of the family grows up sufficiently to take an active part in dacoity. Quarrels about women and division of property often afford a clue, especially when the disputants are in liquor. All Kaikádís are intimately acquainted with the local limits of police stations and the jurisdictions of districts, and make full use of the knowledge. Encamping on the borders of one district they will go long distances, occasionally taking with them one or two women to cook for them, into another, commit a crime and recross the borders to their encampment with great rapidity. Thus they hope to establish an *alibi*, and as they almost always have local friends and supporters among the village police and villagers, and not unfrequently among taluka officers as well, they find these very useful in thwarting the efforts of the police whose duty it is to detect the crime and pursue and arrest the culprits. The bigger and more criminal gangs will generally be found on the borders of Native States and where two or more jurisdictions meet.

A month or two after a successful raid, Kaikádís, provided no inconvenient enquiries have been made, have a big feast or hold a *jatra* among themselves. They worship the 'Devi,' and men, women, and children indulge freely in drink and feasting. They often quarrel on these occasions, and under the influence of liquor divulge important facts. The police should therefore always be on the look-out for these feasts or *jatras* and try to collect information at them.

Kaikádís in custody must always be very carefully guarded as they will escape if they can and adopt all sorts of ruses to do so. Recently thirteen escaped from a good lockup by the following stratagem. One had confessed and pointed out property and all were under trial. At 8 p. m. the thirteen who were confined together in one cell began to quarrel and fight.

Things looked serious, and the Kaikádi who had confessed, appealed to the sentry to save him from the rest and confine him in a separate lockup, otherwise, he said, he would be killed. The sentry, in defiance of Standing Orders, opened the cell door to extricate the unfortunate Kaikádi who had incurred the enmity of the rest by confessing. As he did so, the whole thirteen made a rush at the door, a *chatty* (earthen pot) was dashed in the sentry's face, and all got away. Only one was then and there recaptured. *Moral*: when Kaikádis quarrel and fight in a cell, the whole guard should be turned out and prepare to frustrate attempt to escape before the cell door is opened.

The Kaikádi in short is an extremely intelligent and most difficult criminal to lay by the heels: he disguises himself; he has brains; he commits no offence of magnitude without a wealth of foresight; he commits it at a great distance from his encampment and sticks at nothing.

Kaikádis when committing crime arm themselves with sticks, slings, stones carried in a *dholar* or *kambli* tied round the waist, sickles, hatchets, knives, crow-bars, and, if they can secure them, swords and guns. They also make use of torches. They carry too a stout iron bar a foot or more long tapering to a point called a *sillákal*, *pansakollu* or *kangatti* and sometimes, in the Deccan, use a rough ladder or climbing pole, improvised for the occasion from the trunk of a small tree the branches being lopped off, to gain access to the roof.

The weapons on which they chiefly rely in this Presidency are however the *kangatti*, axe, often with a newly-cut handle, sticks (often freshly cut), bamboos, slings and stones. Their slings are unlike those in ordinary use by cultivators, being smaller. In the Carnatic, Kaddi Korwa women are reported to carry a bunch of keys and a big nail for opening and forcing the locks on doors of houses on the outskirts of villages.

Stolen property is usually buried as soon as obtained, in a ravine, *nállah*-banks, field, forest land, burial ground or rubbish heap. Later, use is made of dishonest village officers, *sáwkhirs*, money-lenders, liquor and toddy shopkeepers, goldsmiths and villagers, to assist in the disposal of booty. In the Carnatic when much valuable

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

property is buried and is likely to remain so for some time, a rupee is cut, and this, with a piece of iron, is buried with it to guard it from subterranean evil spirits. Kaikádis and Kall Korwas are not now so dependent on outside assistance for melting ornaments as they were. They have learnt how to do this for themselves.

An instance is on record where a gang of Kaikádi dacoits was accompanied by a goldsmith, who awaited the gang's return from the scene of the dacoity at the rendezvous and then and there bought the loot; and another instance of four Kaikádis belonging to a large gang having removed valuable property by a horse tonga soon after the commission of a big dacoity. Property is also disposed of in Bombay and other large towns and cities by Kaikádis who visit these in the guise of well-to-do Maráthas, Pátils and Deshmukhs for the purpose.

Under their cooking places, saddles, bedding and near the tent pegs to which their asses are tethered, used to be favourite places for hiding property; but all this is now changed, such places being well known to the police. In a recent case quite a number of stolen ornaments and thirty rupees in cash were found woven into the edges of baskets and winnowing trays and sewn up in the quilts and bedding of a Kaikádi gang.

Kaikádis are not always above-board with one another in the matter of the property obtained during a raid, and some will occasionally, on the way back from the scene of a crime, throw away, unbeknown to the others, some of the property they have secured and come back for it later, thus securing a larger share than their due. If the gang suspects a member of such a fraud, he is made to undergo an ordeal known as 'pramán.' Oil is heated to boiling point a two-anna piece or a small ring is thrown in, and the suspected person is made to pick it out with the fingers. If he burns his fingers he is adjudged guilty; if not, he is exonerated of the charge. Each member of the gang conceals his own share of the loot.

The prolonged stay of a Kaikádi encampment at a village justifies the safe inference that the village officers and some of the villagers are making profit out of its presence and are affording the Kaikádis some sort of encouragement and protection.

In the matter of conveying property from place to place, and disposal or otherwise, the services of their old women are

often utilized. The property is concealed in a saddle or bag on a donkey and an old hag drives or rides the animal.

If a gang at its encampment is being searched, the movements of any women who ask for permission to go beyond the police cordon to obey a call of nature or for any other purpose, will always repay watching. They are clever at secreting property about their persons, in the folds of their *sáris* at their waist, in the mouth and in their arm-pits. The ground where Kaikádis have encamped should be ploughed up before search is abandoned as in one case on record some 1,400 rupees worth of property was recovered in this way.

Among Korwas on the move, stolen goods of little value, the *kangatti* and axe are carried by one of the gang who avoids high-roads. Valuables are removed at night after arrival at the new encampment (one or two of the gang returning for the purpose) and are again buried somewhere near the new camping ground.

Another means of disposing of the stolen property is for a clever and good-looking female member of the gang to get herself up as a Lingáyat woman and sell it openly under the pretence of raising money to redeem mortgaged land.

Katkaris.

Kátkaris are also known as Káthodis. The tribe is divided into two classes: the Dhor Kátkari and the Marátha or Sone, literally pure, Kátkari.

The tribe is confined almost exclusively to the Thana and the Kolaba Districts where 90 per cent will be found. A few thousands in Nasik, Poona, Satara, Ratnagiri and the Native States under these districts, make up the balance.

The country, covered with jungle and intersected by *nállahs* and rivers, between the sea-coast and the Sahyadri range, is their habitat. They never live actually on the sea-coast nor do they inhabit the tract directly below the gháts. A few have settled above gháts but were originally inhabitants of the Konkan and have migrated.

Káthodis infest the hills and wilds of the northern Konkan. They wander into the Surat, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Poona, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts, Dharampur State and Damaun Territory, for purposes of crime. The sphere of their activity is confined to ten or fifteen miles from their encampments. The majority lead an open-air roving existence; a good many of the more well-to-do have however settled near villages and do not wander.

The census returns of 1901 relating to this tribe give the strength and distribution as under:—

| <i>Kátkaris.</i> | | | |
|------------------|-----|--------|----------|
| | | Males. | Females. |
| Thana | ... | 11,186 | 11,116 |
| Jawhar State | ... | 446 | 405 |
| Nasik | ... | 353 | 349 |
| Poona | ... | 356 | 313 |
| Satara | ... | 84 | 71 |
| Sholapur | ... | 1 | 10 |
| Bhor State | ... | 1,449 | 1,331 |
| Khandesh Agency | ... | 2 | 6 |
| Kolaba | ... | 14,232 | 15,550 |
| Ratnagiri | ... | 412 | 434 |

| | | Males. | Females. |
|------------------------------|-----|--------|----------|
| Janjira | ... | 857 | 863 |
| Kolhapur | ... | 10 | 14 |
| Southern Marátha Country. | | 14 | 8 |
| Total | ... | 29,402 | 30,470 |
| Grand Total | ... | 59,872 | |
| <i>Káthodis.</i> | | | |
| Thana | ... | 6,474 | 6,424 |
| Jawhar State | ... | 776 | 697 |
| Ahmednagar | ... | 58 | 67 |
| Khandesh | ... | 34 | 31 |
| Poona | ... | 132 | 151 |
| Khandesh Agency | ... | 14 | 12 |
| Bhor State | ... | 5 | ... |
| Kolaba | ... | 416 | 532 |
| Total | ... | 7,909 | 7,914 |
| Grand Total | ... | 15,823 | |
| Kátkaris | ... | ... | 59,872 |
| Káthodis | ... | ... | 15,823 |
| Total | ... | 75,695 | |

Being one of the most depressed and poorest of the forest tribes, the hard life and hand-to-mouth existence Kátkaris lead, have to some extent undermined their constitution. Though strong, well built and wiry in their prime, both sexes rapidly deteriorate later in life. They are slight, well built, of medium height and very active. Their complexion is brown to very dark and somewhat shiny, eyes deep sunk, bridge of nose shallow, lips full. In both sexes the hair is often curly. Their attire is very scanty, a loin cloth or *langoti* and a piece of cloth wound round the head usually suffices the male. Sometimes a tattered jacket (*karpi*) is worn below an *uparni* or an old blanket. Some Kátkaris shave the head; Dhors seldom do so and all as a rule wear their hair tied in a knot. They cannot be distinguished from Sones, except that the former occasionally wear black glass beads round their necks or wrists. Females wear a skimpy *sári* braced up very tight between the legs, cleverly just covering their nakedness, one end being passed over the chest and shoulders, occasionally covering the head too.

The bodice is not generally worn except on feast days and by a few well-to-do who live near large towns or villages. They also wear necklaces or *póthi*s consisting of strings of small glass beads of various colours. Some Kátkari women wear brass and glass bangles and brass armlets, brass ear and hair chains and sometimes a string of old brass buttons tied round the knob of hair worn at the back of the head. They do not tattoo the inner part of the fore-arm. Dhors tattoo the arm and wear only glass bangles. Ear-rings complete the females' adornment in each division, the Sones wearing large and Dhors small. Sones do not wear anklets but some Dhors affect brass ones. Little attention is paid to the hair; in fact the whole class is squalid and dirty to a degree and their huts are usually devoid of the ordinary domestic and household goods. They are of low caste and are not allowed to reside in any village, so live apart. Those who are settled live in more or less permanent structures with grass roofs, others in temporary huts. The latter are typical structures, about eight to twelve feet in diameter and conical in shape. Clusters of these and Kátkari dwellings on the outskirts of villages go to make up the 'Kátwádi,' which is by some said to be the derivation of 'Káthodi,' misapplied to the class instead of the hamlets.

Náchni, *warai*, *síwa* (poor cereals), rice and wild roots are their staple food; they are partial to field rats, squirrels, some kinds of lizards, the mungoose, and are said to eat even monkeys. When in funds they drink and smoke to excess. The Kátkari is a child of the forest. He evinces a natural aversion to settled and civilized life. The usual wail of the mourner over the dead body of a departed Kátkari runs thus :—

"If ever in the manifold migrations of thy soul thou hast the chance of being born as a human being, be thou not a Brahmin, for he has to write and write and die; nor a Kunbi, for he ploughs till death;" and thus for a variety of castes ending with "but be thou a Kátkari, for then thou shalt be *Jungla chá Rajá* (the king of the forest)."

Their headmen are called 'náiks,' and they are consulted on all social matters, resort being also had to caste meetings.

Like Mahádev Kolis, Kátkaris are extremely difficult to pursue, locate and capture, as they are agile, fleet of foot and can, at a pinch, live on next-to-nothing. Fortunately they

will often give useful information against one another and thus assist the police if tactfully managed.

Their mother-tongue is Maráthi, much abused and clipped Dialect and peculiarities of speech. and pronounced with a nasal twang, there being a marked tendency to shorten words by dropping the inflexions.

They are believed to have words and expressions peculiar Slang used. to themselves which are not intelligible to the ordinary individual. For instance, for fish they use the word *sáro* and for fishing *lodhaila*.

The Sone Kátkaris are the more settled of the two Ostensible means of livelihood. divisions of the tribe, and many of them are field labourers. For the rest, Kátkaris still extract catechu from the *khair* tree, collect and sell fuel and other jungle produce such as berries, roots etc. They also fell trees and manufacture charcoal. They are fond of fishing, hunting ground game and exchange the fish and game caught for rice and other food-grains. In the hot weather they are employed in considerable numbers to repair the *bunds* in the rice fields and during the rains, labour in the fields. They lead thus but a precarious existence and eke out what they can earn by resort to jungle berries, roots and field mice which they dig out of paddy *bunds*. They also glean rice from paddy fields after the harvest is over, and explore holes made by field mice to recover the grain stored there by these little animals.

They adopt no disguises when committing crime, but of Disguises adopted and means of identification. course conceal their features by wrapping up their faces. By their dress, appearance and dialect they are easy of identification.

They commit burglaries, ordinary thefts of grain, goats, Crime to which addicted. sheep and fowl, and are adept tent thieves, cutting their way in through *kanáts* noiselessly, and removing small boxes and any other articles they can lay their hands on. They occasionally attack and rob grasping contractors for the purchase of forest produce, when the latter are moving about the jungles, hold up travellers or carts, but rarely if ever, go out into outlawry. Their crimes as a rule are unaccompanied by unnecessary acts of cruelty or violence.

Here and there instances have occurred of individuals charged with serious crime, taking to the jungles and becoming outlaws, but such cases are very rare. The most recent instance was that of Jánia, a Sone Kátkari of Kopol in Kolaba District, who murdered his brother-in-law, armed himself with a gun and defied capture, which was effected only after much trouble.

No organized crime is committed by them and, when they do indulge in a burglary, it is generally a simple affair and not distinguished by methods characteristic of clever criminals. 'Pilferer' or 'sneak' probably best describes the Kátkari.

In one instance Kátkaris were strongly suspected of having desecrated a grave in a European cemetery in the hope of securing valuables believed to have been buried with the body.

There is practically nothing distinctive in the Kátkaris' methods when committing crime. But where the class is in evidence, thefts accompanied by the loss of cooked food and other eatables, small live-stock such as poultry and goats, are characteristic of their handiwork; or, the finding of a bamboo or a *koita* (chopper) at the scene of the offence, points to Kátkaris as the probable culprits.

It is also a noteworthy fact that Kátkari criminals will not, during the commission of an offence, touch, or in any way defile, any high caste Hindu cooking-place.

A sickle, a chopper, a thin bar of iron called *paharai*, which is used both for burglary and digging out stones, field mice etc., and very occasionally bows and arrows are the weapons and instruments carried when committing crime.

They mostly sell their stolen property to goldsmiths, liquor vendors, and villagers, often *pátils*, and generally through their females. It is conveyed sometimes at the bottom of a basket containing fresh fish which they will sell to no one but the 'receiver.' Another dodge is to conceal small articles in a piece of rag tied as a bandage to an imaginary sore or wound behind

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

the knee or round the thigh. If any one likely to make inconvenient enquiries is met, much limping is of course indulged in. If the quondam invalid is followed, it will probably be found that he goes to a goldsmith's house and that after his visit the rag on the game leg as well as the limp have disappeared.

Liquor shopkeepers are notorious ' receivers ' of this tribe.

Stolen poultry or small live-stock are eaten at once or sold to villagers.

Kolis.

In these notes the only Kolis calling for notice, because of their criminal propensities, are the 'Mahádeo' Kolis inhabiting the Western Sahyadri Range and the Kolis of Gujerat. There are other known varieties of the Koli caste such as 'Malhár' or 'Pánbhari' Kolis, 'Dhor' Kolis, 'Agri' and 'Son' Kolis, etc., but these are distinct from the 'Mahádeo' and 'Gujerat' Kolis forming the subject of this note and are not a source of anxiety to the police.

MAHADEO KOLIS.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Name of the criminal class or tribe. | This tribe includes those known as 'Ráj' Kolis so styled because of their kinship with the princely family of the Jawhár State, a Koli <i>rāj</i> . |
|--------------------------------------|---|

| | |
|----------|--|
| Habitat. | They inhabit the rough country above and below the Western Gháts or Sahyadri Range lying in the Poona, Thana, Kolaba, Ahmednagar and Nasik Districts and the Jawhár State. |
|----------|--|

| | |
|--|--|
| Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities. | Mahádeo Kolis are not a nomadic tribe but are all settled in villages. They are intensely fond of their ghát fastnesses and the wild rough country along the gháts they inhabit. Nothing will tempt them to leave the security of these in pursuit of crime. Subject to these limitations the movements of criminal Kolis, whether individual outlaws or gangs, know no restrictions, and often thirty or forty miles are covered during the twenty-four hours, in the extremely difficult country they inhabit, to evade capture or commit crime. |
|--|--|

Kolis will not of choice, under any circumstances, go into the 'desi bhág' or plain country, though many of them are to be found in Bombay City working as labourers, and individual outlaws are shrewd enough to appreciate the advantages of a large city like Bombay as a place of concealment.

| | |
|--|---|
| Population according to last census, and distribution. | The census reports do not show Mahádeo Kolis separately and there is no source from which their number and distribution can readily be obtained. However, the information is not of much importance as the class is distri- |
|--|---|

buted only over the limited area mentioned above, predominates there, and is not met with elsewhere.

Both men and women are short, medium to sturdy in build, wiry, fair to dark, quick, shrewd, with intelligent bright faces and keen senses. The women are well formed and many of them are distinctly comely and more refined perhaps than the ordinary Kunbi women.

A hill tribe living in such country as they do, it goes without saying that they are inured to every kind of fatigue, can live on very little, are active as cats and can travel great distances. Many of the men are hard-working, but as a class they are improvident, poor, easily satisfied and excessively clannish.

Their dress shows some slight variations, more pronounced in the case of the women, according to the part of the ghâts they inhabit; but as a rule the men wear a short *dhotar* or *panja*, a *bandi* (coat) or *pairan* (shirt), a coloured or white turban and *pāsodi* (shoulder-cloth) or *ghongdi* (blanket). In the Konkan a *dhotar* or *langoti*, a turban or *rumāl* and a *ghongdi* is the usual costume. Most men wear a waist-band or girdle called *kūcha*.

Women wear the *sāri*, some after the style of poor Kunbi women, others in short *dhotar* fashion, the end being fastened off round the waist and the head covered with a *phadki*, or left bare according to fancy. A large nose-ring embellished with hollow brass or gold beads, is always worn. The women do not actually participate in the commission of crime, but one, here and there, is occasionally picked up with an outlaw gang. They are as active, capable of endurance, and thoroughly conversant with the rough country they live in, as the men, and are very clever and efficient in communicating information regarding the movements of the police to the men and in conveying supplies to them when 'out.'

Kolis are more or less dirty in their dress, smoke, will drink liquor but are temperate, sober, and clean feeders. In their dwellings they seldom burn lights, the flicker of the fire being sufficient for all purposes. A great many of the women are, among their own tribesmen, of loose moral character though they do not often go wrong with outsiders. As a result intrigues, usually ending in social and family feuds, occasionally in bloodshed, are numerous. Infidelity

among the women leading to elopements or abductions is a very fruitful cause of further trouble. The aggrieved husband or family retaliates and many a wronged Koli has thus been driven to acts of violence and subsequent outlawry. Their social leader is called 'kárbhári' or 'khót' in the Konkan. They live in *kembli* or wattle-and-daub huts with thatch roofs, and whole villages are populated entirely by Kolis living in huts of this type. A few who are in affluent circumstances live in more substantial buildings with tile or corrugated iron roofs.

The year 1845 was rendered famous in Koli history by the excesses of the notorious Rághoji Bhángria who, becoming an outlaw, organized bands of Kolis with whom he roamed the countryside revenging himself on avaricious Márwadis by cutting off their noses. Strong measures broke up his gangs but not till the Márwadi community for the most part had fled in terror. Rághoji was ultimately caught at Pandharpur by Captain Gell, convicted and hanged.

When disorder and confusion reigned in 1857-58 a corps of these Ghát Kolis was raised by Captain Nuttal and proved very useful in helping to put down disturbances. It was disbanded in 1861.

The Márwadis resorting to their extortionate methods, suffered again in 1873 at the hands of Honya and his gangs. This famous outlaw was ultimately caught in 1876 by Major Daniell, the then District Superintendent of Police, Poona. Various risings have taken place from time to time since that period among the Kolis of the gháts bordering the Ahmednagar, Nasik, Poona and Thana Districts and are traceable for the most part to seasons of scarcity, combined with the exacting demands of the Márwadis with whom they had monetary transactions.

They speak the Maráthi of the lower orders which in parts suffers by reason of certain marked peculiarities of pronunciation *e.g.*, 'i' is used for the final 'a,' and 'y' is substituted for 'sh' in the middle of a word, thus, for 'tiána' (to them) they say 'tiáni' and for 'kashálá' (why) they say 'kayálá.'

They speak with a nasal accent and clip their words, for instance, 'bá' for 'bábá,' 'Ganpádá' for 'Ganpat dádá,' and so on, and generally accent the principal word of the sentence.

Slang used.

Kolis have no slang.

As a class they are cultivators in a small way (mostly in the Bania's hands) and field labourers. Some have accepted Government service in the Forest and the Police departments; a few are school-masters in the Koli villages but mostly they live by labour and the collection and sale of *hirdā* (myrabolam), grass, wood and forest fruits and berries. Many, owing to the poverty of the soil in the ghāts, their own improvidence and bad seasons, are often sore pressed for a square meal and subsist largely on jungle roots, berries etc., in the hot months or have resort to crime for their sustenance.

Beyond muffling their faces, occasionally wearing false moustaches and beards made of goat-skin, or, rigged up in old dark or *khāki* clothing (sometimes even putties and boots), masquerading as policemen or forest peons, Kolis affect no disguise in the commission of crime. There is a case on record in which a Koli gang headed by a leader who had made himself notorious, gained peaceable entrance to a village at night by posing as a police escort in charge of two prisoners. The bogus policemen were dressed up in dark clothes, carried guns and swords and two of the gang, tied by the arms, walked in the centre personating the prisoners. This ruse enabled the gang to advance right through the village to the *chawdi* where they at once disclosed their true character by attacking the villagers and looting houses.

They sometimes make use of Hindustani words, and in parts 'hoor hoor' is a favourite utterance during the commission of a dacoity.

The Koli is not a burglar or thief in the ordinary sense. Though given to petty thieving, he is a source of trouble and anxiety only when he takes to outlawry, and then he commits dacoity robbery, grievous hurt and sometimes murder.

In the matter of criminal tendencies, Kolis bear a strong resemblance to Bhils. The predatory instinct and love of adventure is still strong in them. A season of scarcity, the grasping avariciousness and exacting demands of money-lenders, or some domestic grievance drives individuals into outlawry and once an outlaw has established a reputation as a successful freebooter he soon attracts others, with or without some grievance fancied or real, to his standard. Unless

speedily dispersed, captured or disposed of, the gang thus formed increases and multiplies and soon creates a reign of terror. They raid villages and extort black-mail, known as *khand*, in the shape of food, gunpowder or money; loot Márwadis, and burn their accounts; cut off noses and slit ears; hold up solitary policemen and forest peons, whom they beat, tie to trees and rob, and generally harry and terrorize the countryside by crimes of violence.

Such outbreaks are difficult to deal with by reason of the fact that the outlaw gangs are sheltered, through sympathy or fear, and assisted by their caste fellows, while the Kolis' intimate knowledge of every jungle path and hiding place, and their hardiness and activity, enable them to successfully evade pursuit and capture by the police.

Kolis are also given to illicit distillation of liquor.

There is seldom any doubt as to the perpetrators of a crime in which Kolis are concerned: Methods employed in committing crime. firstly, because their offences are confined to a tract of country seldom affected by other classes; secondly, because there is very little attempt at secrecy. Their attacks, whether on dwellings, villages or individuals, and whether by day or night, are always open. They go straight for their objective, create an uproar, demand what they want, intimidate and by their numbers and recklessness, terrorize their victims, and having secured the booty, make off into the jungles and disappear.

When the object of a gang is to wreak vengeance on some usurious money-lender, it will enter the village, usually by night, burn his books, take such money, jewellery and clothes as it can lay hands on, perhaps mutilate him, sometimes kill him and even violate the women in the house. By way of precaution the doors of the neighbouring houses are sometimes chained up. If the object is to secure supplies, levy *khand* or take revenge for some insult or injury, such as the abduction of some woman, the gang overawes the villagers by the display of swords and the reports of guns or bombs and openly demands or forcibly takes from several of the huts what it requires, or attacks the victim's house and avenges the insult, often in the most cold-blooded and brutal manner.

To show to what extent Kolis will go when smarting under a sense of wrong, it is sufficient to mention a case on record in which a well-to-do Koli was dragged from his house one night

by an outlaw gang, tied to a post on the verandah, and hacked to death with swords, for an intrigue with a woman.

Outlaw gangs have been known to ruthlessly murder 'informers,' loot police lines, surprise, ambush, attack and cut up considerable police parties, whose uniforms and weapons they then appropriate to their own use.

A Koli 'informer' is most difficult to obtain and when secured requires adequate and constant protection. In a case on record an armed party of eight policemen were set upon, wounded and beaten and the spy they had in their charge wrested from them and crucified.

Koli outlaws when thoroughly roused and desperate are extremely difficult to deal with and account for, by reason of the terror they create, the sympathy and active assistance extended to them by their caste fellows and their elusiveness, great mobility and intimate knowledge of the country.

Every Koli is an 'informer' for the gang; every hill is a signal station and every village sends its messenger; and in the ghât country a Koli will do thirty miles while a policeman is doing ten, into the wilds and fastnesses with the latest news regarding the movements of the police.

Apart from a few law-abiding Kolis and those who may have suffered from outlaw raids, the great majority of the class regard a proclaimed leader and his gang as heroes, sympathise with them in their campaign against money-lenders, forest officials, etc., aid them to evade the police and will, if need be, feed and harbour them. Hence outlawry thrives, as everything operates against the forces of the State and in favour of the criminals.

The following three reasons have actually been advanced by intelligent Kolis in support of the belief they entertain that the presence and continued immunity in the ghât area of some famous outlaw and his following are an advantage rather than otherwise to them as a class:—

(i) The rate of interest demanded by money-lenders is kept down and an effective check is imposed on the movements and demands of the money-lending class.

(ii) The forest peons who have to travel about alone in the jungle behave better generally and are less zealous in the discharge of their duties.

(iii) A reputation for being easily excited to outlawry and crime secures for them, a poor unrepresented hill tribe, attention, consideration and concessions from Government which otherwise they would be unlikely to secure.

The only effective way to deal with outbreaks in the ghâts is, in the first place, to prevent individual outlaws from securing a following. Once a man of any reputation is known to have gone 'out,' no efforts should be spared to bring about his speedy capture before he makes himself famous. His village, or that of his wife or mistress, and his favourite haunts should be picketted with armed police and he should be hunted till caught. Should he succeed in forming a gang, no time should be lost in throwing as many *armed* police as possible at once into the area likely to be affected; villages where the gang have friends or attractions should be guarded, patrols organized, passes up and down the ghâts held, and the armed police be in evidence as much as possible in order to afford well disposed villagers a sense of security, and thereby secure their assistance and sympathy. Unless this line of action is adopted and protection afforded, those who would prefer to be on the side of authority have, through fear or motives of self interest, to keep their council and either actively or passively assist the outlaws. Some advantage may be looked for by calling a meeting of all influential and well disposed Kolis in the villages in the disturbed area and endeavouring to enlist their sympathy on the side of law and order.

Many of the Kolis are good shots, and a desperate outlaw is a dangerous man to tackle as from the nature of his surroundings he generally gets in the first shot. Up to a point armed resistance is stubborn, but once Kolis realize that the tables are turned they surrender readily or bolt.

Koli dacoits generally arm themselves with bamboos ringed and loaded called *lavangi kâthi* or ordinary sticks, and if procurable old guns, some rusty swords, a few of which are still kept in concealment in the ghâts or obtained from Jawhâr. If swords are not readily available, they manufacture wooden ones and cover these with silver paper to make them appear real. In the ghâts, every Koli also carries his *koitâ* or chopper, slung in a wooden frog, on his buttocks.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Stolen property is distributed among the members of the gang immediately after a dacoity, the leader receiving a larger share. Pending disposal, property is usually buried in the forests. Sonárs are their chief 'receivers.'

Eatables, fowls and the like, are consumed at once.

GUJERAT KOLIS.

Gujerat Kolis are divided into four main divisions which appear to be territorial rather than tribal :—

Chunváliyas, also called Jahángrias ;

Khánts or Borderers ;

Pátanvádiyas or Anhilpur Kolis, also called Kohodas (*i. e.*, axes, probably in the sense of ruthlessness) or Jhángads ; and

Talabdas, or local Kolis, also called Dhárálas or swordsmen, and in parts Thakardas.

These classes are again parcelled into numerous clans, an enumeration of which would serve no useful purpose. Besides the main divisions mentioned above, there are Bárias, Dalvádis, Gediya, Shiáls and Valakiyas, who take their names from their original domicile.

Kolis are to be met with all over Gujerat and Kathiawar. They are most numerous in the latter province and the north of Gujerat and are more sparsely distributed towards Broach and Surat.

Chunváliyas are mostly found in Ahmedabad, Kathiawar and Baroda ; Khánts in the north-eastern portion of Gujerat and in parts of Kathiawar ; Pátanvádiyas in central Gujerat, chiefly in the Kaira District, while Talabdas, the most numerous of all the divisions are spread all over Gujerat, in greater numbers in Ahmedabad, Kaira and Baroda.

Kolis are not wanderers though great numbers have, in search of labour, migrated from the villages to the larger business centres and cities where they earn their living in various ways. Individuals are known to have strayed as far south as Madras and north to Sind.

Their criminal activities are confined to the province of Gujerat and Kathiawar, for they do not as a rule travel far from their villages in pursuit of crime. They are known to visit Rutlám and the neighbouring portions of Málwa and particularly to patronize the larger towns situated on the B. B. and C. I. Railway. Their excursions by road may, on special occasions, extend to a radius of thirty to fifty miles from their homes. They have no fixed season for criminal expeditions, nor do they embark on regular tours. They bide their time so to say, sallying forth when a favourable opportunity offers, returning home after their object has been accomplished. Away from their villages, unless temporarily settled in towns, they are not encumbered by families and either put up with friends, in out-of-the-way *dharamsalás* or temples or in the open some distance from villages under trees, passing themselves off as wayfarers.

Population according to last census and distribution.

The census figures for Gujerat are as follows :—

| | Males. | Females. |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Ahmedabad | 97,449 | 90,767 |
| Broach | 30,813 | 30,857 |
| Kaira | 131,398 | 120,677 |
| Panch Mahals | 25,139 | 23,501 |
| Surat | 47,573 | 52,304 |
| Cambay | 7,020 | 6,510 |
| Cutch | 5,059 | 4,965 |
| Kathiawar | 127,898 | 120,666 |
| Mahi Kantha | 49,033 | 43,306 |
| Palanpur | 52,580 | 46,214 |
| Rewa Kantha | 77,750 | 72,680 |
| Surat Agency | 6,964 | 7,135 |
| | <hr/> 658,676 | <hr/> 619,582 |

The figures for places outside Gujerat cannot be given with any degree of accuracy as the census returns do not differentiate between Gujerat and other kinds of Kolis.

Owing partly to the variety of life they lead and partly to their connection with superior classes, Kolis conform to no particular type of

Appearance, dress etc.

features. The Talabdas are the most civilized of all the divisions and have the manners and features of Kunbis and Rajputs. They are generally fair, good-looking, strong, well built, active, of average height, thrifty, well-to-do and hold the highest place among Kolis. Their females are usually slender, well formed with a pleasing expression of features and some are pretty.

Chunváliyas have more of the features and characteristics of the Bhil than whom they are only a little higher in position and intelligence. They were at one time a body of organized plunderers and the terror of Gujerat and among them are still men of unruly and criminal habits. They are rather tall, well set up, active, hardy and generally of sallow complexion. The Thákardas or landholders among them are good-looking and fair like Talabdas.

Khánts are a wild tribe, in appearance and condition little, if at all, different from Bhils. Excepting their leaders who are good-looking, the lower orders are inferior in appearance to the generality of Talabdas. They are of swarthy complexion, robust, hardy, of average height, and well built; as a class they are much given to thieving.

The Pátanváliyas are somewhat dark of complexion, stalwart, active, hardy, high spirited and daring, more closely resembling Vághris and Bhils. In the early part of the last century they were credited with being the most blood-thirsty and untameable plunderers, mercenaries and free-booters, but in places of trust proved staunch and honest.

Kolis as a class are reputed to be daring, artful, relentless and even cruel, inured to fatigue and hardship, active and fleet of foot, and though some of them are prosperous, the majority are thriftless, lazy and fond of ease.

Speaking generally, the costume of Kolis varies but little from that of the poorer classes in Gujerat. The usual dress of the male Koli consists of a white or colored head-scarf, a jacket and a waist-cloth or *dhoti*, all of coarse cloth, and country shoes. Sometimes they don *angarkhás* reaching to the waist. In parts of Kathiawar, Palanpur and Chunvál, trousers are preferred, and over these and round the waist some fasten a cloth after the manner of Girásias. At social gatherings a turban takes the place of the head-scarf and a *pichodi* is worn over the shoulders. A few in Chunvál, Kathiawar and Patan allow the beard to grow, but

the majority shave the chin and some wear whiskers. Kolis are flesh eaters but eschew beef. Pátanvádiyas and some Khánts eat the flesh of the buffalo and are consequently held in low estimation by the other classes. Both sexes partake of intoxicating liquor. They are great tobacco smokers, and in parts of north Gujerat they are given to indulgence in opium. The woman's costume consists of a petticoat with a backless bodice and a robe. In Surat and parts of the Broach District the petticoat is not worn, a *sári* being wound tightly round the waist and thighs and tucked up leaving the lower portion of the limbs free, the upper end being drawn over the shoulders so as to cover the body. The well-to-do wear a gold or silver *hánsdi* (necklace), ear-rings, glass bangles, silver anklets and toe-rings. Those in indigent circumstances wear ornaments of cheap metals and wooden bracelets; some wear glass and gold bead necklaces.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Kolis speak the Gujerati of the lower orders.

Slang and signs used.

Their argot is not very extensive. The following are a few of their expressions :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|----------------|--|
| ramava jávoon | ... to go on a thieving excursion. |
| chámi jávoon | ... to know, to take a hint. |
| chavli uthvoon | ... to wake up. |
| khāngáválo | ... a watch. |
| kalo bhairav | ... |
| baládi | ... } a policeman. |
| kutaru | ... |
| sāndh or pido | ... a police officer. |
| pānkhdi | ... a sum of money. |
| gadabiyo | ... |
| patharo | ... } melted gold or silver ornaments. |
| dhekhalo | ... |
| khunto | ... a skeleton key. |
| bāndo | ... a confederate. |
| mario | ... silver or gold ornaments. |
| zemi | ... theft. |
| ságar | ... a Dhārāla member of a Vāghri gang. (His services are made use of to procure catables from towns and to watch the encampment while the Vāghris are absent.) |

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-------------|--|
| moosibhai | ... a Vághri member of a gang of Dhárálas. |
| dhoor unchi | ... rich prey. |
| dhoor nichí | ... poor prey. |
| renkti | ... cattle. |
| jut | ... a companion, friend. |
| kánthi | ... a difficulty or obstacle. |

The cry of the jackal is, on suitable occasions, imitated to attract one another's attention or assemble a gang. They also make use of low whistles to one another when actually committing crime.

As a class Kolis are husbandmen and field laborers. They accept service as private or village watchmen and are sometimes employed as trackers. Some purchase the right to gather mangoes, *mhowra* flowers, etc., from trees and sell the produce to wholesale dealers; others ply carts for hire, collect and sell cart-loads of fuel, draw hand-carts, work as labourers in mills and serve as porters, pumpers, etc., on the railway, while not a few have entered Government service as *taláti*s, policemen, and peons. In fact Kolis living in industrial centres will turn their hands to pretty well anything as day labourers. Those living on the sea-coast are fishermen and boatmen, and in the Surat District many a Koli works as a mason.

Koli land-owners and men of position and influence are called Thákors, are generally well-to-do and observe *purdah* with their women.

Kolis in Gujerat seldom resort to disguises. They are however adept in personating Rajputs, Thákors, Bahroths (bards), and Páti-dárs, and their get-up is often excellent. They also occasionally adopt the role of Nának-sháhi Sádhus and Brahmins but the make-up is usually imperfect and their ignorance of religious ceremonials and requirements betrays them. When committing crime they discard the *dhoti* for the *langoti* and muffle their faces or sometimes conceal them with *bhukas* made of animal hair.

In times of yore Kolis occupied a prominent place in the annals of crime. According to the Crime to which addicted. Bombay Gazetteer, in 1825 Bishop

Heber found the Kolis one of the most turbulent and predatory tribes in India. In 1832 bands of Kolis from 50 to 200 strong and bent on plunder, infested the Kaira highroads. They showed signs of an inclination to revolt in 1857, but prompt measures were taken to punish the unruly and the country was saved from any widespread outbreak. Though brought to their bearings under British rule their hereditary love of plunder is by no means extinct. At the present day they are, as a class, addicted to highway and house dacoity and robbery, house-breaking and thefts, cattle lifting, thefts of standing crops and field produce, mischief by fire, thefts from running goods trains on parts of the B. B. and C. I. and portions of the R. M. Railways, and acts of violence and bloodshed, in order to take revenge or terrorize. Some of the more lawless of the Kaira Kolis, especially the Pátanvádiyas who inhabit the Borsad and Anand talukas and the adjoining portion of the Baroda Territory, have the reputation of being mercenary assassins.

Among the Kolis of Kathiawar and parts of Ahmedabad, the levying of black-mail for the restoration of lifted cattle is prevalent, while a few from some of the Gujerat Native States and Kathiawar have earned a notoriety as being given to committing theft after administering some stupefying drug.

The illicit distillation of liquor, manufacture of salt and opium smuggling are minor forms of crime to which Kolis are given.

Those of south Gujerat, except that they are addicted to minor offences against the liquor laws, are on the whole less criminal than those of other parts.

The different divisions of Kolis have more or less identical

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

methods of committing burglary, theft robbery, dacoity and cattle lifting. For the commission of house-breaking the culprits depend a good deal on local friends for information, but as a rule, they visit and mark down, during the day, dwellings for themselves, their calling often facilitating their doing this unsuspected. Or, they prowl about at night and without any previous enquiry operate on some building which, owing to the loneliness of its situation or other special reason, proves attractive. If the master of a burgled house happens to have in his employ a Koli servant, this domestic will probably repay police attention, for sometimes a Koli while in private employ, will supply his criminal

friends with useful information respecting the premises, and afterwards keep them informed of the progress of police enquiries at the scene of the offence.

As a preliminary to getting to work, they sally forth after night-fall and before the police are ordinarily out on night patrol and bide their time either in the houses of friends or lurking in deserted buildings or ruins, out-of-the-way temples or mosques.

When the night has advanced and all is quiet, the party armed with sticks (often freshly cut) and the *khātariyā*, exhibit 46 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate IV, approach the building. Arrived at the scene of offence, some post themselves as look-outs while others proceed to make a hole in a wall (usually a back wall it being considered unlucky to break in from the front) in the 'rumālī' fashion. Before passing in through the hole, the intruders insert a stick and move it cautiously to and fro to make sure that there is no one on the other side to give them a warm reception. One or two, occasionally three or four, enter, while a couple stand outside to receive the spoil. Of the former some ransack the house, the rest, armed with *lāthis* and knives, watch the sleeping inmates. Should the latter be disturbed and show any inclination to raise an alarm, they are silenced by threats of violence and the display of weapons. With the exception of eatables and cooked food, they take all they can lay their hands on and depart, usually by door or window.

In order to avoid leaving foot-prints outside the house, it is said that Kolis walk on tip-toe for some distance to and from the scene of the crime. If the house to be burgled happens to be situated in some village close to their own, they occasionally divest themselves of their superfluous clothing and shoes outside the former village and leave the articles in charge of a member of the party.

The crime committed, they return to the place where their shoes etc. have been left, dress themselves, put on their shoes, and return home. Thus stealth during the commission of the crime is facilitated and tracking is rendered difficult.

The hole made in the wall by the Koli burglar is generally a good size and his handiwork rough. Other modes of effecting an entry into a house are, by climbing up to a terrace or upper storey and lifting windows off their hinges; by removing or forcing small windows; or by breaking in through the roof.

Organized dacoity in dwellings is not practised by Kolis, except perhaps by some of the more criminal from Palanpur, Rádhanpur and Patan.

Gujerat Kolis as a class have the hereditary instincts of highway dacoits and robbers. A gang usually lies in wait on some road at a convenient spot. The object of attack is frequently marked down at his last halting place and is followed by one of the gang who acquaints his comrades of the approach of the quarry. At a given signal those lying in wait rush out and commence the attack. The conveyance, if there is one, is stopped by some of the gang, while others assault the inmates and ransack the cart, relieving the occupants of any ornaments and valuables they have on their persons and perhaps too of bundles and metal utensils. Resistance on the part of the travellers is overcome by violence; no compunction is shown even to females or children, and occasionally the raid ends in grievous hurt or even murder.

Cattle lifting is effected in various ways: at night, by breaking into a cattle-shed: by driving off animals belonging to travellers and cartmen from halting places; or, when carts are slowly moving along a road and the drivers are dozing in their seats, by quietly unyoking one of the bullocks and driving it away. It is not till the irregular movement of the cart sufficiently rouses the driver that he wakes to his loss.

Bullocks and buffaloes are chiefly prized; sometimes camels and horses are stolen. Cows are not as a rule taken, except by Pátanvádiyas; sheep and goat lifting are not so common as cattle thefts. Lifted cattle are forthwith driven away to a considerable distance. It then becomes almost impossible for the owners to trace them, and the payment of black-mail is the quickest way of recovering the animals.

Crop raids are usually committed at night, the culprits being armed with sticks and other weapons. If the night watchman raises an alarm and the neighbours come to his assistance, as likely as not a scuffle ensues and sometimes ends in serious consequences, the crime developing into robbery, dacoity or perhaps something graver.

Kolis, especially those of the Kaira District, are much addicted to looting goods trains. They are exceedingly daring in jumping on and off trains in motion. The experience gained as railway servants in shunting and loading yards, is turned to account in the commission of offences on

the railway. They mark down the vans of passenger trains at night, and if they get an opportunity, either gain entrance from the off side, or, if that is watched, they go a little distance up the line, jump on to the foot-board when the train is in motion and effect entrance through the door, if not locked, or by breaking into the van—the rattle of the train smothering any noise that may be caused by forcible entry. After accomplishing their object the train is left either when it slackens speed to enter a station or when running up an incline. Goods trains are occasionally boarded by crouching on the buffers of the wagons while stationary. After the train has started the thieves climb on to open wagons and throw off bags of grain etc., which are picked up by confederates waiting for the purpose. The latter sometimes signal their presence to the men in the trains by lighting matches.

Trains running slowly up heavy gradients are boarded and left by these agile Kolis without any great difficulty or risk. Kolis are very vindictive and frequently resort to mischief by fire in order to pay off a grudge, or, by terrorizing, to attain some other object and they are not unfrequently employed by Pâtidars and Banias to inflict injury by arson on those with whom the latter have a feud.

Near the borders of opium-producing Native States a few Kolis, it is said, go in for smuggling opium, which they conceal in their fields and dispose of later by retail. This practice is gradually sinking into disuse and at the present day it is believed that few Kolis indulge in it.

Gangs organized for the commission of crime are usually made up of individuals from different villages rather than from one. In the event of any member of a criminal gang being killed in an expedition, information of the disaster is communicated by throwing a spray of *nim* leaves on the roof of deceased's house. Thus his family is apprised of his death and silence is imposed on his relations.

The Koli's favorite implement of house-breaking is the *ganēshia* or *khātariyā* described in the note on Vāghris. When committing crime they usually carry a large country knife called *chara*, in a scabbard, at the waist, a *lithi* or *kariyali dhāṅg* (weighted stick),

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

exhibit 26 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, and in some parts a *dhāria* (sharp bill-hook at the end of a bamboo), exhibit 31 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, a *vānsi* (toothed bill-hook), exhibit 54 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, or a *kātor* or *kātariyā*, exhibit 11 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, a crescent-shaped weapon about three feet in length made of some hard wood occasionally strengthened with leather bands. The last mentioned is thrown with a whirling motion after the manner of a boomerang and is effective up to about fifty yards. If skilfully hurled it will break a man's leg, bring down a buck, or kill small game. Bows and arrows and occasionally swords are also carried by Koli depredators. A burglar usually provides himself with a bunch of keys, a match box and a piece of candle as well.

Immediately after the commission of a crime, stolen property is generally concealed by Kolis in the open in fields, rubbish heaps, underneath stacks of grass, in hollows in the trunks of trees, perhaps under water in some well or pool and sometimes in their houses under fire-places, in hollow bamboos, in roof rafters, cattle-sheds or in holes, in the side walls near doors, made to take cross bars.

When enquiry has languished and the coast is, so to speak, clear, the property is removed from hiding, perhaps melted and disposed of through goldsmiths, Pātidars, Girāsias, Banias, Bohras, Memon hawkers, or blacksmiths and pretty frequently village officers are not free from the suspicion of sharing the spoils.

Stolen cloth is sometimes sewn into patchwork quilts or disposed of to local Banias. If no purchaser is forthcoming it is burnt, gold and silver borders injured by the fire being given away. Stolen cattle are sometimes kept out of the way at some secluded spot till the owner, personally, or through a middleman, offers money by way of ransom, say half the price of the cattle, in which case, after payment of the sum agreed upon, the animals are left at some place indicated to the owner or his friend, where they are 'found.' If black-mail is not forthcoming, the cattle are sold at distant markets. If there is reason to believe that the owner is not likely to come to terms, they are sold to butchers.

Stolen sheep and goats are killed and consumed.

For the conveyance of valuable loot from a distance to their homes, the services of a respectable looking Pátidar, Girásia or Bania accomplice are sometimes utilized.

Stolen horses and camels are despatched if possible to the Thar and Parkar District for disposal.

Mangs.

Mangs are known in the Carnatic as Mádars or Mádigrú and in Gujerat as Mángs or Mángelas. The tribe is divided into a number of sub-divisions, the principal of which are :—

Name of criminal tribe
or class.

Núda or Khotra.

Holad.

Rakwáldar, known in parts as Ghatoli.

Dakelwar.

Ped.

Mochi, etc.

From time immemorial Mangs have occupied a prominent place among the tribes with criminal instincts inhabiting the Deccan districts and the districts and states comprising the Southern Marátha Country. In both areas nearly every village has its quota of Mangs. In some districts they are not so troublesome as in others, for instance in Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar they are not the source of anxiety to the police that they are in Poona, Satara and Kolhapur.

Habitat.

Mangs are local criminals pure and simple. They rarely commit crime in the immediate neighbourhood of their own homes or beyond a radius of thirty miles or so from their villages. The field of their operations is confined to neighbouring talukas or districts. There is, however, an instance on record of Mangs from the Sholapur District having committed a dacoity in the Kolhapur State, a hundred miles or so away, but such instances are uncommon.

Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities.

With the exception of 'Dakelwars' who are wanderers, Mangs are all settled and do not roam about the country in gangs.

Numerically the Máng is strong, as will be seen from the appended table taken from the census returns, showing the Máng population in the Bombay Presidency :—

Population according to last census, and distribution.



Mangs belonging to the Satara District.

| | Males. | Females. |
|------------------------------|--------|----------|
| Ahmedabad | 2 | ... |
| Thana | 232 | 184 |
| Jawhar State | 9 | 1 |
| Ahmednagar | 10,582 | 10,622 |
| Khandesh | 6,532 | 6,359 |
| Nasik | 3,980 | 4,198 |
| Poona | 10,077 | 11,573 |
| Satara | 13,376 | 13,108 |
| Sholapur | 14,213 | 14,143 |
| Akalkot | 894 | 821 |
| Bhor | 259 | 224 |
| Khandesh Agency | 6 | 7 |
| Satara Agency | 1,385 | 1,363 |
| Belgaum | 10,896 | 11,348 |
| Bijapur | 15,040 | 15,468 |
| Dharwar | 19,055 | 19,125 |
| Kanara | 49 | 54 |
| Kolaba | 302 | 307 |
| Ratnagiri | 20 | 7 |
| Janjira | 12 | 13 |
| Kolhapur | 8,580 | 8,341 |
| Southern Marátha Country ... | 8,748 | 9,031 |

250,559

Mángs as a race are hardy, intemperate, cruel, passionate and revengeful. In physique they are well built, athletic, and vary between the sturdy heavy and the wiry active types. All are endowed with powers of great endurance. Their features are coarse and dark with a somewhat fierce expression. They are dirty lovers and feeders.

In villages they live apart in a quarter known as the 'Mángwáda' or 'Mádargerí,' separate even from the Mahárs. They are much given to drink, tobacco and ganja smoking.

Mángs like Rámoshis swear by the 'Bel Bhandár.'

As a class they are troublesome and addicted to serious crimes according as they preponderate in a given area over other criminal classes such as Kaikádís, Rámoshis, Berads, etc.

Mángs, however, will not steal from Mángs.

There are two kinds of leaders among the class : (1) Deshmehtrias and (2) Surnáiks. The former are religious and social heads, the latter leaders in crime.

In dress and appearance Mángs, male and female, are very like others of the depressed classes. There is no characteristic difference, yet a practised eye can at once distinguish a Máng.

The women are dark and plain. They tie their hair in a knot, often without the aid of a piece of silk, cotton or woollen thread. Their hands and arms are profusely tattooed, the figures of a cypress, scorpion and snake being preferred. A mark thus III will often be found tattooed on all fingers of the right hand except the thumb and a sun-flower on the back of the same hand. They wear the *sári* full without drawing it up between the legs, a *choli* (bodice) with short sleeves and back, and brass or zinc ornaments.

The costume of the men consists of a dirty *dhotar*, ragged *pagri*, a jacket or *pairan* and shoulder-cloth. Barbers will not shave them, so they have to depend on each other for a shave and this enhances their general dirty and unkempt appearance.

Mángs always speak the language of the district in which they reside. Their accent and intonation, however, is faulty. Those who speak Maráthi do not pronounce nasals properly and cannot correctly sound two consonants joined by a single vowel. Their speech is, as might be expected, rough and coarse.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

The following are some of their slang expressions collected from different parts of the Presidency :—

Slang used.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|---|-------------------------|
| tíkari hikavito <i>or</i> tikria nemito . | abuses. |
| hidká-hidki | ... affray. |
| hidúk | ... beat. |
| kor <i>or</i> lipda | ... blanket. |
| regál, parad <i>or</i> tinkan | ... Bráhmín. |
| kudtul | ... box. |
| dhádal | ... to break. |
| khadal | ... to break upon. |
| karpati | ... bread. |
| yedul, nakya | ... bullock. |
| varávalá | ... came. |
| kuni varval | ... some one will come. |
| dandal, pedla | ... came to search. |
| kudapal | ... cart. |
| gágaru, gángal | ... Chamár. |

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| tikhati | ... | chillies. |
| pedne | ... | to clear away. |
| pedá | ... | clear away, start or go. |
| kapadul, lipdá | ... | cloth. |
| pakuche | ... | cock. |
| khumar | ... | door. |
| tavla | ... | dacoity with murder. |
| hedakla | ... | dacoity with grievous hurt. |
| náyál, jhukail | ... | dog. |
| áploo áploo shega | ... | distribute property. |
| pedam, bhoora | ... | a European. |
| dutiv <i>or</i> dutav | ... | eat. |
| kiwanya, kijva | ... | eye. |
| khumara | ... | face. |
| gavaná | ... | feet. |
| dhupá | ... | fire. |
| tankulá, yelach, ohili | ... | flesh. |
| nekle, gorin, nemani | ... | goat. |
| yerala | ... | god. |
| halak, halaw, <i>or</i> halwa | ... | gold or stolen property. |
| thokade, chunkhá | ... | goldsmith. |
| hingala | ... | Gujar. |
| nán | ... | good. |
| kobal, kolkal | ... | grain. |
| dubak, phúkni | ... | gun. |
| zirage | ... | hair. |
| kuram <i>or</i> kuramá | ... | horse. |
| kûd, kudcha | ... | house. |
| karká <i>or</i> korká | ... | hand. |
| náli, khavdi | ... | house-breaking. |
| kasoo | ... | kadbi stack. |
| tika mangla bhanpa | ... | to keep a watch. |
| gavaná | ... | leg. |
| beya <i>or</i> boya | ... | lamp. |
| váji | ... | land. |
| chilad <i>or</i> chillad | ... | lock. |
| chanapto, kanivto | ... | looks. |
| sobádá, sombálá | ... | man. |
| ambuj | ... | Mang. |
| aril, godgá dándál | ... | Marátha. |
| pená, ghatar, bhukar | ... | Mahár. |
| khárape, damula, <i>or</i> rokdá | ... | money or cash. |
| sasaema | ... | murder. |
| oon <i>or</i> una | ... | moonlight (night). |
| zimak, zumuk, zumain | ... | Musalman. |
| raya | ... | night. |
| shikhare | ... | nose. |
| kalámá | ... | pot. |
| zukil, zukir, moongshi | ... | police. |

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|---------------------------|-----|---|
| puyál | ... | poor. |
| mátu, shegá, yamá | ... | robbery. |
| boyalá | ... | rámoshi or watchman. |
| nirtakale | ... | river. |
| tád | ... | rope, string. |
| hurkat, pedá, hushkadá | ... | run away. |
| kingalválá, dhulkia | ... | scavenger. |
| yemul | ... | she-buffaloe. |
| goril | ... | sheep. |
| tikane | ... | to sit. |
| tolakla, tolakawla | ... | slept. |
| nilingi, kodpan, nilgánti | ... | stick. |
| ápál, vápál | ... | stone. |
| godala, goeda | ... | sugarcane or coarse sugar. |
| kadul, katnul, dháráli | ... | sword or weapon. |
| seg, sed | ... | to take. |
| chavare | ... | teeth. |
| nakarvámá, nakawálá | ... | teli (oil-seller). |
| mooch, nali | ... | theft. |
| nir | ... | water. |
| adatule | ... | wife or woman. |
| fûrmán | ... | term used by Mángs when greeting one another. |

Mángs are frequently employed as watchmen and those who are hereditary village servants hold lands and cultivate them. In the village constitution Mángs are the scavengers, songsters and musicians. Some keep leeches for bleeding purposes while others geld cattle. Numbers make hide and hempen ropes, slings, *shinkás* (net bags), brooms, and work in tanneries. Among Mángs are also to be found shoe-makers and workers in leather. It is a Máng who actually carries out the extreme penalty of the law.

As a class they are poor but well nourished as they will eat everything and anything even the carcasses of animals that die in the village.

The Dakelwar Máng is the bard of the tribe. He is not a criminal but lives by begging solely from Mángs.

Mángs do not go in systematically for disguises but occasionally individuals make themselves up as Gosávis and thus disguised, prospect houses, etc. During

Ostensible means of livelihood.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

the actual commission of crime, to avoid identification, they cover the lower part of their faces, or smear them with ashes or soot and sometimes tie a *kambli* (blanket) over the head fastening it off round the waist.

Mangs of the Deccan are the most dangerous and troublesome of all. Those in the Carnatic and elsewhere are more law-abiding and less an anxiety to the police. The former go in chiefly for gang robbery, dacoity, burglary, cattle lifting and poisoning, thefts of all kinds and cheating by passing off spurious ornaments as genuine. They are expert night thieves and house-breakers. They are also fond of decoying 'receivers' with money into lonely places in the open country to do a deal, then, turning on them they either rob them of the cash brought for the purpose or secure the cash by some ruse.

In the Satara District, Mangs bearing surnames of 'Bhishi' and 'Sonawle' are reputed the most criminal.

In the Carnatic, Mádars are addicted chiefly to the commission of petty thefts and cattle-poisoning. When they commit the latter it is with one of two objects, either revenge because some *hak* (due) has been refused by an agriculturist, or when times are hard for the hide which is, in some villages, by custom and usage, their right, and the carcass which they eat.

In the Deccan the differences existing between Mangs and Mahárs in respect to the performance of customary rites on religious and sacrificial occasions, not infrequently give rise to serious quarrels, rioting and bloodshed.

The women, as a rule, do not assist the men in their criminal activities, but instances are known in which they have accompanied dacoit gangs, probably to cook for them.

Among other means of obtaining information regarding houses to be looted or burgled, the Mangs' profession of selling brooms and ropes enables them to spy out the land and acquire valuable knowledge. Information is also occasionally secured through Mangs or bad characters living in the village to be attacked or from some enemy of the owner of the house to be looted. In such cases the informer gets a share of the 'loot.' For the rest, advantage is taken of favourable opportunities, such as

Methods employed in committing crime and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

domestic, religious or social festivities attended by a display of jewellery and valuables.

When planning a dacoity the *pros* and *cons* are first carefully discussed, the design being carried into execution on the first favourable dark night. Dacoities are committed by gangs of ten to twenty led by the 'surnáik' or a deputy appointed by him. Every gang is collected and organized by some one who is styled 'náik' or 'surnáik.' He is elected by vote on his merits as a robber, his intellectual capacities, his influence with the village authorities and prominent land-owners, his readiness in speech and his capabilities as a leader. Thus elected he takes command of or directs all criminal expeditions and receives a share of the spoil whether he accompanies the expedition or not; but should he lead an expedition, he receives an extra share.

All arrangements as to meeting, proceeding to the village to be attacked, and details of the attack are arranged before hand either in the 'surnáik's' house or some other suitable place. Liquor is indulged in and a consultation is held, when instructions are issued by the leader to each member as to the part he is to take.

At the appointed time the gang assembles in any broken ground that may afford shelter from observation in the vicinity of the spot which has been selected as the scene of action. Here shoes and superfluous clothing are left, sometimes in charge of one of the gang. A supply of stones, which are deposited in several heaps near the house to be attacked, is taken and these are used as missiles against counter-attack.

Mánga are capable of slinging stones with great force and accuracy and rely on their skill in this respect when attacked or pursued.

In house dacoity, the village is either rushed, the dacoits carrying torches, letting off fire-arms if they have any, or potash bombs, pelting stones promiscuously, warning the inhabitants not to come out of their houses and generally creating a great noise while they make for the house to be attacked; or, the village is stealthily entered, the gang going quietly to the doomed house. In the latter event one of the gang will first try to gain peaceable admission by some plausible story; if he fails, the door of the house is forced with a hatchet and walls are scaled occasionally with the aid of a

rough ladder or climbing pole. Some of the gang enter the house, the rest remain outside and cover the approaches to the building.

Entrance having been effected, torches are lit and the inmates are sought out and forced by threats of violence to show where money and jewellery may be hidden. In some instances the dacoits use Kaikádi or Hindustáni words among themselves to divert suspicion.

Mangs if in a tight corner stop short at nothing to secure their escape or to resist capture.

The plunderers, if unmolested, abstain from personal violence, but refusal to point out valuables meets with ill-treatment. Should there be any difficulty in detaching an ornament, a Máng will not hesitate to tear it out of nose or ear, even of married women, otherwise they rarely offer violence to females.

The 'surnáik' moves about supervising and encouraging the rest of the gang and seeing they carry out the duties allotted to them properly. Having ransacked the house and secured all there is to be had, the 'náik' gives the word 'chalo,' 'peda' or 'nibla,' which is the signal to decamp. On this the gang beats an orderly retreat, slinging stones till clear of the village, thence the dacoits proceed with expedition to the rendezvous where the shoes and clothes were left. In order to mislead enquiry they occasionally drop some articles distinctive of other castes, and to baffle pursuit return by devious routes.

Stolen property usually remains with the member of the gang who secured it till he is required to disgorge what he has got, later.

Either at the rendezvous described above or two or three miles from the scene of the crime, a halt is called by the 'náik' and the property is pooled and distributed, the 'náik' satisfying himself that all has been given up. Over the distribution of property quarrelling often takes place owing to the dishonesty which prevails at the division of plunder and the distrust Mangs entertain for one another when it comes to sharing the spoil.

A village dacoity is not necessarily confined to one house, occasionally as many as three buildings are attacked at a time.

Highway robberies and road dacoities are generally committed about sunset, or soon after, on carts or tongas by gangs numbering from four to ten. The weapons carried on such occasions are sticks and axes. Two of the men squat on the road quietly chewing betelnut or otherwise engaged, the remainder being concealed in some convenient hiding place near at hand. As the conveyance approaches the men sitting on the road jump up suddenly and stop the bullocks or ponies, while the remainder rush out from their place of hiding, pull the driver off his seat, secure him and then proceed to rob the occupants. All is so rapidly accomplished that the perpetrators are seldom identified. Occasionally the victims are left tied to the conveyance or a tree to prevent their carrying early information.

Burglary.

The Máng is a burglar of superior attainments. The 'bagli' method of breaking into a house is favoured by him. One or two enter the house while others keep watch and are at hand outside. In tracts where houses have flat mud roofs Mángs are said to be careful, when effecting entrance through a hole in the roof of a house, to prevent any of the earth falling into the room below lest some one inside should be aroused. This they do, as the hole increases in size, by carefully scraping the earth, as it is loosened, to one side. Once inside the house, the Máng proceeds to business in a calculating manner. He will use any lamp or wick he may find in the house to light his way about and, if any of the inmates are lying with bed clothes tossed aside, the considerate Máng will gently replace them, carefully enveloping the sleeper's head. Those inside the house and their confederates outside, work together admirably, the latter covering the work of the former, receiving whatever is handed out and giving the alarm if necessary. Among some Máng burglars it is the practice for the confederate outside to keep up a quiet and regular tapping, by flicking the first finger from the thumb on window or door, all the while those inside are at work and the coast is clear. The cessation of this 'all well' signal from outside signifies danger to those inside.

Mángs are credited with a disinclination to commit crime on the day set apart for the worship of the family deity and, as a rule, they do not commit ordinary thefts or burglaries in the day-time. They have no scruples about admitting or joining other castes in a criminal venture, for instance,

Mahārs, Māngs and a Lingayat Jangum have been known to form a gang and commit a dacoity.

A Māng criminal who confesses, will not, as a rule, produce all the stolen property in his possession but only a portion of it.

Defrauding 'receivers' is accomplished by the sudden arrival of a confederate in the role of a police officer while the deal is in progress; an alarm is raised and the Māngs decamp with ornaments and cash in one direction while the victim makes off in another; or, the bogus police officer intercepts the 'receiver' while wending his way home and relieves him of the ornaments.

Their favourite instrument for burglary is called a *khantoda*.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

It is made of iron, about a foot in length and chisel-shaped at one end. In dacoities they carry slings and stones, sticks, torches, an axe, probably knives or daggers, swords and fire-arms if obtainable, and explosive potash bombs. The *lāthi* usually carried by a Māng reaches up to about the shoulder. It is said that in some parts Māngs generally grasp a *lāthi* or stick by the thicker end, Rāmōshis by the thinner, and though there may be some foundation for the statement it would probably not always be safe to draw conclusions from the alleged peculiarity.

It is also reported that the ladder or climbing pole used by Kaikādis and described in the note on that class, is occasionally used by Māngs to gain access to the roof of a house or to assist in scaling walls.

When embarking on a dacoity some distance from their homes, instead of taking sticks with them when they start, Māngs, to evade suspicion, often prefer to provide themselves with cudgels *en route*.

If the plunder consists of cash, the 'surnāik's' share is first allotted and the balance is then divided into as many shares as there are members in the gang and each then takes his share. Thus the 'surnāik,' if he has participated in the crime, comes in for two shares. In some gangs the 'nāik' keeps what he himself secures during the commission of the crime and in addition receives one share from the rest of the 'loot.'

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

The less experienced of the gang are given cash as their share of the plunder lest they should, if arrested by the police, be prevailed on to produce property, or by clumsiness in disposing of it, afford a clue and bring the entire gang into trouble.

Their methods of concealing and disposing of stolen goods are similar to those of Rāmoshis, Kaikādis, Berads and the like. They bury 'loot' till police enquiry has languished when it is unearthed and disposed of to goldsmiths, *sāwkārs*, Mārwādis, liquor-vendors, bangle-sellers or other villagers and usually where the culprits have some relative or connection. Property is, as a rule, disposed of intact.

Mang-Garudis.

Mang-garudis must not be confused with either Mángs or Gárudis. They have nothing in common with the latter and are socially inferior to the former who refuse to dine or smoke the *chilam* with Máng-garudis.

Name of criminal class
or tribe.

In the Deccan and Konkan the women are known among the villagers as Káth-kádnis owing to their dirty uncouth appearance.

Máng-garudis are distinct too from 'Gopáls,' wandering gymnasts, for whom they are apt to be mistaken.

They are a poor roving class having no fixed dwellings. They wander from place to place and are to be found throughout the Presidency. They are also met with in the Central Provinces, Berars and parts of His Highness the Nizam's Territory.

Habitat.

Máng-garudis are a gipsy tribe and as a rule do not peregrinate over a very extensive area, gangs confining themselves more or less to a particular beat. They do not go long distances in pursuit of crime, but confine their operations to the neighbourhood of their encampments. An instance is however on record of a single individual having been caught picking pockets in a bazar forty miles from the encampment.

Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities.

On promising information a party will occasionally travel as far as twenty miles in a night to commit crime.

The Bombay Presidency census returns of 1901 show no Máng-garudis, from which it would appear that members of this tribe have been returned as Mángs or Gárudis or among the 'Unspecified.' The tribe is apparently not a very numerous one.

Population according to last census, and distribution.

The men are of medium height, strong, active and wiry; lazy and averse to hard work. Their costume consists of a short *dhotar* (*pancha*) or *langoti* according to choice, a *bandi* (jacket) or *angarkha*, an old turban carelessly tied and a shoulder-cloth,

Appearance, dress, etc.

all of coarse cloth. Some wear a cotton *kācha* or waist-band. The well-to-do wear shoes. The women dress themselves in the *siri* and *choli* after the manner of the depressed classes of the Deccan, the former short and untidy. When begging in villages they improvise out of some old cloth a *jholi* or bag which is suspended from the left shoulder and into this they stow whatever they get. Beads, coloured or black according to fancy, are also worn. They apply *kunku* only when actually being married and on important festivals. Their bangles are made of lead and ear-rings of brass. Nose-rings and anklets are not usually worn. Boys sometimes wear brass chains round the neck, sometimes coloured cotton thread necklaces. Both among men and women no trouble is taken with the hair; it is seemingly never combed, is short and always dishevelled. Both sexes are extremely dirty in their persons and clothing and most offensive to go near. They are also notoriously quarrelsome.

They peregrinate from village to village, avoiding police posts, with their families, dogs, ponies and cattle, encamping, as a rule, a long way from, but within reach of, some bazar or good-sized village. Barren she-buffaloes are the means of their transport, portable grass huts (*jhopdās*) their dwellings.

One of the gang usually acts as spokesman and conducts business with outsiders.

The men are great drunkards and eat every kind of flesh except that of horses and donkeys.

Here and there an individual is to be met with who has given up wandering and has settled as a cultivator living in a farm-house on his field.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

The Máng-gárudis speak corrupt Maráthi without any trace of Gujerati origin, if any.

The following are some of the slang expressions used by Máng-gárudis in the Central Provinces:—

Slang used.

| Slang. | | | Meaning. |
|-----------------|-----|-----|---------------|
| yelgu | ... | ... | policeman. |
| kawrie | ... | ... | theft. |
| lipata or latta | ... | ... | stolen cloth. |
| laf | ... | ... | money. |
| damrie | ... | ... | rupee. |
| kapulun | ... | ... | run away. |

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|---------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| jakia | ... | dog. |
| zumani | ... | Musalmán. |
| nakora | ... | bullock. |
| zamaisi | ... | buffaloe. |
| sondee | ... | girl. |
| sonda | ... | boy. |
| ketmi | ... | mother. |
| tiponí nako | ... | do not tell. |
| yelgu vairla kurhyar tala | ... | look out, a policeman is coming. |
| lipata kapurla tugaj | ... | there is some property, steal it. |

In the Deccan.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----|-------------------|
| ásrá | ... | ten. |
| súti | ... | twenty. |
| kapsuti | ... | twenty-five. |
| karpati | ... | bread. |
| khamosá | ... | money. |
| lipdá | ... | cloth. |
| zukai | ... | dog. |
| zumáni | ... | Musalmán. |
| nákóda | ... | bullock. |
| irmáchi | ... | buffaloe. |
| kháriola | ... | came. |
| ghanala | ... | pot, vessel. |
| thámnia | ... | Brahmin. |
| dándál or nátia | ... | Kunbi or Marátha. |
| kúd | ... | house. |
| kúrmá | ... | horse. |
| markal | ... | goat. |
| niromá | ... | water. |
| ripái | ... | policeman. |
| rozdár | ... | chief constable. |
| kiwa | ... | gold. |
| khapád, pehed | ... | run away. |
| pangti | ... | fowl. |
| kobal | ... | grain. |
| gavná | ... | shoe. |
| khoyrá | ... | rámoshi. |
| bhukria | ... | Mahár. |
| chingia | ... | Máng. |
| khápá | ... | rupee. |

Máng-garudis never do a hard day's work. Begging, performing childish conjuring tricks before villagers, trading in barren half-starved buffaloes and buffaloe calves, sometimes in country ponies, are their ostensible means of subsistence. They also purchase from Gowlis barren buffaloes which they profess to be able to make fertile, returning

Ostensible means of livelihood.

them when pregnant for double the purchase money and they shave buffaloes for villagers.

A *very* few have settled and taken to cultivation. They do not go in for snake charming. The women sell firewood, grass etc., and wander from door to door begging and chanting. They are immoral.

Māng-gārudis adopt no special disguises, but when committing crimes of violence, like other criminals, to avoid identification they muffle their faces. They however frequently change their names.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

Men, women and children are habitual thieves and pilferers. They specially go in for stealing agricultural produce from, and grazing their animals in, ryots' fields; remonstrance is met with abuse and often violence. The women steal in the day and the men at night, the former being very clever at pilfering clothes put out to dry, picking pockets in bazars, sneaking fowls, shoes etc., etc.

Crime to which addicted.

The men of this tribe are cattle poisoners and confirmed cattle lifters; buffaloes being of most use to them are their chief prey. Lifting smaller livestock such as goats, sheep and fowls are common crimes with them and villagers are, as a rule, unwilling to approach their encampments to recover their property.

During harvest time they are much given to stealing grain and cotton. They will occasionally go in for burglary and even highway robbery and dacoity. Recently they have taken to thieving on the railway.

Defrauding owners of their barren she-buffaloes under the pretext of making them fertile, carrying them off with some earnest money for the promised service and subsequently selling them at a distance, is a favourite mode of cheating practised by Māng-gārudis. Other forms of cheating are the sale of false ornaments as genuine and decoying and swindling or robbing 'receivers.'

A gang will sometimes number as many as eighty or even more persons, and it is idle to suppose that so large an encampment can maintain itself and its numerous livestock without continually depredating the surrounding country.

Methods employed in committing crime and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Not infrequently only boys and women with children at their breasts, will be found at the encampment and when the latter are asked where the male members are, they unblushingly say there are none.

They have a wholesome dread of being dealt with under Chapter VIII, Criminal Procedure Code.

When committing highway robbery they picket the road to be exploited in small groups a mile or two apart and way-lay carts and passengers as these come from either direction.

They lift buffaloes left out to graze, drive off village cattle with their own and adroitly alter the appearance of stolen animals by trimming their horns and branding so as to render recognition by the rightful owners difficult or impossible.

They rob 'receivers' by inviting them to purchase stolen goods at some out-of-the-way place and when there, relieve them of the cash brought for the purchase of the property.

Stealing goats and sheep is a favourite occupation with them. They either carry them off alive from their pens at night or kill them whilst out grazing. This latter is done in the following manner. Having marked down a sheep or a goat grazing some way apart on the outskirts of the flock, the thief awaits his opportunity till the shepherd's back is turned when the animal is quietly and quickly seized and its neck broken by a sudden and powerful twist; the body is then thrown into a bush or into some dip in the ground and the offender slips away. When the shepherd is well out of sight the thief returns and removes the carcass to his encampment. The skin, horns, etc., are immediately disposed of so as to avoid detection.

Women are employed to visit villages and towns under the pretext of begging, there to mark houses and make mental notes of means of ingress etc., with a view to carrying information to the males. They will also enter houses freely when begging if there is nobody about and lift whatever comes to hand. They go off in parties of four or five to the various neighbouring bazars where they proceed to beg or steal as opportunity offers. They steal either from houses they find have been left empty for the time being, or else in the open bazar. Their method in the bazar is as follows. They see some one put down a bundle and watch until his attention is attracted elsewhere. They then walk up quietly, get between the individual and his property, and rapidly transfer the bundle or bag to their basket, which generally

contains some old clothes, and make off as quickly as possible. If they think they are likely to be seen they first cover the bundle with their clothes and then remove it. These thefts are only committed by the women of the gang and their education begins when they are able to walk.

Máng-gárudis if caught red-handed, repudiate connection with any particular gang. Conversely a gang will never own up to any connection with any Máng-gárudi who has been unfortunate enough to be caught.

If the gang has met with any marked success and obtained a large haul anywhere, the deity is propitiated.

The men openly visit surrounding villages and behave quietly, perform some little *tamasha* to obtain alms, but always keep their eyes and ears open with a view to getting information likely to help them to the commission of crime.

Sticks and slings are their favourite weapons. Occasionally hatchets are made use of for breaking open doors and a *khantoda* (an iron jemmy) for making holes in walls. They have been known to carry *kuchla* (strychnia) and *dhatūra* possibly for poisoning, perhaps for the treatment of barren buffaloes.

Stolen property such as cash, jewels and clothes, should it have been some time in their possession, is concealed about the persons of men and women or in the saddle-bags of their buffaloes. When searching individuals, the rectum of males and the private parts of women should invariably be examined as instances are known of property having been concealed in these parts. Plunder freshly acquired is buried in the neighbourhood of the encampment often near or under the place where their cattle are tethered. Liquor-vendors are almost always their 'receivers.' A favourite place for hiding stolen grain and cotton is in *kadbee* stacks in the immediate vicinity of the encampment.

Stolen property, if field produce, is usually sold at once to some one at a distance from the scene of the crime or deposited with Kunbis and *pâtils* in league with the gang. The women will sometimes conceal small quantities of grain in cloth belts about their waists and if a suspected woman appears to be pregnant a search may be desirable and productive of useful results.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

Valuable booty is occasionally passed on to some friendly gang in an adjoining district or province. Sympathetic *pâtils* and blacksmiths are also employed to dispose of stolen property.

The women are expert spies for the men and when the police have to deal with a gang, the men are apt to be truculent and the women become very boisterous, violent and troublesome and create scenes. To hamper and embarrass the police they will stick at nothing even in injuring themselves and their children to create a diversion, assaulting the police and making false accusations of all kinds. A common trick is to seize a child by the legs and swing it round at arm's length threatening to dash it to the ground unless the police clear out. Another is for the women to lift their *sâris* or even divest themselves of their clothing and stand up naked in order to shame the police into making off and leaving them alone.

If stolen property is found in a search, the women to save the men will not infrequently admit the crime.

Property pilfered by women is usually kept by the family; money dishonestly obtained is spent on drink for the gang.

Stolen articles of clothing are sometimes exchanged at Kalals' (liquor-vendors') shops for liquor or sewn into patchwork quilts (*godhdis*) or saddle-bags and sold later as opportunity offers.

Mianas.

Mianas should on no account be mistaken for 'Minás,' the professional burglars of Northern India. The following are some of the principal sub-divisions or clans of this class :—

Name of criminal class
or tribe.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Sumeja. | Wágher. |
| Môr. | Kájardia. |
| Jám. | Ladháni. |
| Saintáni. | Paredi. |
| Baidáni. | Mánek. |
| Khattia or Katia. | Mulla. |
| Bhati. | Jamani. |
| Sakháya. | Malek. |
| Sandhwáni. | Sama. |
| Máláni. | Gandh. |
| Zeda. | Dhara. |
| Sumera. | |

Mianas are found chiefly in Kathiawad and Cutch. In the former they are mostly confined to their adopted home, the State of Mália and especially to the villages of Mália, Kájarda, Chikli, Nawagaon along the coast of Jámnapur State. A few families are said to reside in Pálanpur and Patipipalia under Dhandhuka in the Ahmedabad District.

In Sind they are represented sparsely by more or less temporary immigrants.

When not engaged in looking after their crops the Mália State Mianas have been accustomed to making long journeys to Sind, Cutch, Rádhanpur and Pálanpur in Northern Gujerat as also into the Ahmedabad District and all over Kathiawad. When hunted, after committing dacoities, they have been known to go in small numbers to Multán, with which place they are connected through a *pir* whose remains were originally buried just outside Mália but were subsequently removed to Multán. Their wanderings have, however, been greatly circumscribed by the introduction, in 1904, of certain regulations.

Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities.

Miánas will commit a dacoity at a distance of forty to sixty miles from their *dangas* or homes getting back before day-light, and instances are on record of Miána raids from Kathiawad into the Ahmedabad District, a hundred miles or so away.

The tribe is a settled one, not wandering or migratory.

A gross population of over 10,000 represents the Miána strength, which is distributed as under :—

| | | | Males. | Females. |
|-----------|-----|-----|--------|----------|
| Cutch | ... | ... | 2,816 | 3,062 |
| Kathiawad | ... | ... | 2,292 | 2,400 |
| Pálanpur | ... | ... | 12 | 12 |
| | | | 5,120 | 5,474 |
| | | | 10,594 | |

Miánas, originally Hindus, were converted many years ago to Islam. In appearance they closely resemble the Sindhis and are a handsome virile-looking race. They are above the average in height with wavy long hair, well-kept bushy beards and clear-cut aquiline features, keen eyes, very white teeth and swarthy skin. They are fond of riding and sport, are intelligent, active, untiring, courageous, but withal treacherous.

Their women are known for their good looks and bad morals.

The men dress in tight trousers and *angarkha*, *pasabandi*, or short coat and always tie a cloth (*pichodi*), generally of a *kháki* or dark colour, round their loins the ends falling on each side of the leg over the trousers. The head-dress consists of a turban of various colours tied in a circular fashion after the Morvi pattern; a red or *kháki* skull cap or a handkerchief is frequently worn under or in lieu of the *pagri*. Occasionally a scarf is thrown over the shoulders.

Cutchi Miánas leave one end of the turban loose, in other respects their dress is similar to that of the Mália Miána.

Though Mahomedans holding certain *pirs* in esteem, their mode of life is akin to that of Rajputs.

From the subjoined story taken from the 'Rásmála' something of the character of the Miána may be gleaned :—

"One day while an Arab of the Gaikwar's army was at his prayers, a Miána passed by and enquired of him who he was afraid

of that he bent his head that way. The Arab replied that he feared no one but God. 'Oh! then,' said the Miána, 'come along with me to Mália; we don't fear even God there.'"

The Miána's fondness for joking is a distinct characteristic of his nature and he is of a merry disposition as the following translation of a stipulation (taken from a foot-note in the Bombay Gazetteer) which they made out and signed in good faith, though no doubt laughing up their sleeves all the time, will illustrate:—

"The Holi being a Hindu festival in the excitement of which we have no right to participate, we promise not to indulge for the future in our habit of committing burglaries at that season. We promise also to give up hanging about the town gates at morn and eve and annoying female passers-by with our remarks. Mália and Kájarda shall no longer continue to be seminaries for the propagation of our customs. We admit that it is very wrong to make holes in the fort walls for our easier exits. We will not again so offend."

They are apparently incapable of abiding by any bond or agreement.

Miánas under British administration are compelled to live in towns and villages. Some are allowed to live in grass huts, which they call *vandh*, in their fields. Formerly a *vandh* was a fairly large encampment of Miánas, now the term is applied to Miána huts in fields.

Miánas amongst themselves speak 'Karo Kájadi' or 'Kuro Kuro,' a mixture of Cutchi and Sindhi. They can also converse in Gujerati and Hindustáni. When attempting to speak another language they frequently betray themselves by saying '*me chio*,' meaning 'I say.'

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Mália Miánas talk roughly. When angry they are fond of using an abusive term '*dhyá*' or '*gadádia*.'

A few accept employ in the Agency or State police, some are good honest cultivators, but the majority are loafers who eke out a precarious existence by occasional labour or snaring of game and perhaps as grazers of cattle. They are also employed, though not frequently, as '*rámoshis*' and by Banias as escorts. They are however so treacherous that they cannot be depended on. Away from home they maintain themselves by keeping carts for hire or by manual labour.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

The adoption of disguises by change of dress or altering the appearance is not usual among Miánas. They sometimes are disguised as *fakirs* or try to pass themselves off as Girásias, but more often as Sindhis or Játs. When however they are committing a daring dacoity or are bailing up passengers on a road in Gujerat, they often pretend to be Customs or Police officers or to belong to the irregular soldiery of some Chief. On such occasions they wear the uniforms and belts which they have collected or stolen and carry swords and guns, which they value very highly and obtain and secrete under ground with extraordinary skill. When in large gangs they never attempt to hide their identity but take a pride in letting the people know that they are Miánas.

The Miána of Mália is a confirmed and desperate free-booter defying all law and order, but in the present day his movements are controlled and checked by stringent supervision and the enforcement of special regulations.

Fancied or real grievances against constituted authority and blood feuds amongst themselves, brought about as a rule by the fickleness of their women and their low ideas of morality, on which however they rather pride themselves, are causes which excite their criminal instincts and drive them into outlawry. As a dacoit the Miána still stands supreme in Kathiawad. History furnishes ample evidence of his prowess as such—his cruelty, cunning, courage and stamina.

Miánas are addicted to daring highway robberies and dacoities, sacking villages, cattle lifting, house-breaking, thefts of all kinds, extortion by intimidating petty land-owners and enticing away or kidnapping wives and daughters of Miánas of other clans. A vindictive race, they have been known to waylay and cut off the noses and lips of officials who have proved obnoxious to them, and frequently they disfigure faithless women by cutting off their noses.

They are also adepts at breaking out of jail and escaping from custody when being escorted from one place to another.

They set much store by arms and ammunition and are expert in their use. If they cannot obtain weapons by fair means they will acquire them by theft.

Their plans are always well laid and daringly executed,

The most criminal clans of the Miána class are the Jám, Sandhwáni, Mor, Paredi, Mánek, Gandh and Ladháni.

Armed with a permit, allowing them to leave their villages, obtained on some pretext or other or by stealth or with the connivance of elders of the clan (who are to a great extent held responsible for any crime traced back to the tribe), a few enterprising individuals will leave their villages, often mounted on camels, armed with gun or sword and hold up some unfortunate Bania, raid cattle or rob some rich money-lender who fancies himself secure in his village with a guard of a couple of Patháns or Arabs.

Methods employed in committing crime and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

These watchmen often show fight and not infrequently the depredators sustain fatal injuries. On such occasions the wounded are carried off by their comrades and day-break finds them back in their villages ready to explain to the police how 'Máya' is suffering from a broken leg, the result of a fall from a tree, or 'Visa' was gored to death by a vicious bullock.

When hopelessly involved they turn outlaw or 'Bárwatia' (literally 'out on the road') and cause much annoyance and loss to the public and trouble to the authorities before they are finally captured.

Comparatively recently, dacoities on a large scale were committed in the Ahmedabad District by a mixed gang of Miánas and Kolis mounted on camels, with a skill, rapidity, and fearlessness worthy of a better cause. Arrested and convicted they were extradited to Baroda for offences in that State and while awaiting trial at the Petlad Jail, the accused broke out and defied, for some time, authority in the country between the borders of Sind through Cutch and Kathiawad to Ahmedabad. Surrounded at last by the Kathiawad Agency and Chuda State Police after one year's freedom, they offered a stout resistance and most were shot down or captured.

Miánas get information of houses to be looted through local friends. The gang which, as a rule, exceeds five in number, resorts to a suitable spot in the jungles near a tank or well within ten miles or so of the scene of the proposed crime. Thence, armed with guns, swords and sticks, they make for the village marked down, the house is rushed, perhaps under pretext of a search for contraband opium, and the inmates intimidated and terrified. Hesitation to point out the spot where valuables are concealed meets with severe maltreatment. While some are engaged in the house, others

will post themselves at the approaches and outside the village to prevent their victims from escaping and outside assistance from arriving till the dacoity is over.

Or again, before committing a large dacoity or sacking a village, one or two Miánas come down and carefully reconnoitre the ground. Frequently one gets some work in the neighbourhood and then when plans are matured word is sent back to Mália or wherever the *danga* or Miána encampment happens to be. On such occasions they walk or ride immense distances, always keeping near a river-bed.

In exploiting highways a gang is divided into two groups posted at an interval of a mile or so apart to intercept passengers and carts travelling in both directions. When retreating, the gang, in order to mislead, travels away from the direction eventually to be taken and endeavours to keep to hard ground or marsh land which leaves no tracks.

In order to deceive trackers as to the numerical strength of a gang, some of the members will, it is said, occasionally carry others on their backs for some distance to reduce the number of foot-prints. As a rule they travel by night and halt during the day, posting look-outs on trees etc. near the halting place. Should a villager or a traveller come suddenly or unexpectedly on a gang, he is not allowed to proceed till it has departed; not infrequently he is tied to a tree, in which unhappy plight he remains till he is discovered by some villager next morning.

After a large haul or escape from a jail, Miánas will, as soon as possible, go to the Multáni *pir's* tomb outside Mália to offer up thanks for their success.

The daring nature of the offence and the Miána's distinctive appearance usually afford a clue to the identity of the culprits.

When engaged in house-breaking they use violence if interfered with.

Admission of guilt is practically unknown, unless obtained through the influence of elders.

Mr. Souter, a former Superintendent of the Kathiawad Agency Police, who on one occasion greatly distinguished himself in a personal encounter with a well-armed and desperate gang, writing with special experience of Miánas, says that—

“Miána outlaws when brought to bay have in past years frequently shown fight. On such occasions they have borne out the

opinion formed of them by Colonel Watson, a former Political Agent in Kathiawad, that they have the makings of excellent soldiers. They have always shown great judgment in selecting ground which has made it difficult to attack them and they have invariably improved the natural advantages of their position by either digging trenches or piling up stones as fortifications. They have further shown foresight in arranging for food and drink, as also discipline in setting aside marksmen to fire for them whilst reserving the fire of the whole body till a charge was made on their position. Their retreat when possible has also always been orderly and undertaken at night. Such masterly tactics have always defeated the ordinary Durbāri troops and two stones to the memory of European officers who have fallen in such encounters will be found standing today in Mália territory, the land of the Miānas."

Miānas on marauding expeditions frequently mount them-

Stock-in-trade, instruments
and weapons used in committing crime.

selves on camels or ponies and carry guns or swords or both. A Miāna generally carries an iron-ringed stick wherever he goes and is also fond of having a hatchet handy, even when driving a cart. A knife is also part of the stock-in-trade of a Miāna. They also carry a *chāgal* (leather water-bag) and at times a pair of binoculars.

Much skill is displayed in the concealment of stolen property. In common with other criminals, after the commission of an affray,

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

they hide their booty in the ground. When in their own country they bury it in their fields or burial grounds. Elsewhere, as a rule, in *nāllahs* or river banks. When the hue-and-cry is over the property is taken out and, as nearly every Bania, Lohāna, and Brāhmin is a 'receiver' of stolen property in Mália and in the villages on the borders of both sides of the Rann, no difficulty is experienced in disposing of it. Many Girāsias are also 'fences' and as all 'receivers' are extremely afraid of Miānas, information is seldom forthcoming against the latter.



Haran Shikaris.

The centre figure is a dwarf. He was employed by the gang for getting information by begging, playing the 'pungi,' shell, etc.

Pardhis.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Name of criminal class or tribe. | Párdhis are of police interest because they are an offshoot of the great Bauriah tribe, a stock from which a variety of criminal classes have sprung. The sporting instincts of |
|-------------------------------------|---|

this tribe gained for them the cognomen 'Párdhi,' from *páradh* hunting or fowling, and from their different methods some were named Vághri Párdhis, others Phás Párdhis. Vághri is derived from the Sanskrit word *vághur*, meaning a net to entrap hares etc., and the Párdhis who use nets are called Vághri Párdhis. Phás means a noose, so Párdhis who catch pig, deer etc., by means of a line to which nooses are attached are called Phás Párdhis and in some parts of India are known as Meywarees. One division of the Párdhis in the Khandesh District still employs the *vághur* and is known as Vághri Párdhis. But as most of them now follow the profession of fretting mill-stones, they are also called Takáris or Tákankars. *Tákne* means chiselling.

The Vághris of Gujerat and Kathiawad are quite distinct from Vághri Párdhis.

Phás Párdhis, also known as Pál and Langoti Párdhis, differ from the Vághri or Tákankar Párdhis. They are known differently as Langoti Párdhis by reason of their scanty attire which usually consists of little else but a *langoti*; as Pál Párdhis because they live in páls; as Gai Párdhis because they shikar with trained cows. Some Phás Párdhis style themselves Ráj Párdhis. But by whatever name the Phás Párdhi is known in this Presidency, he is apparently quite distinct from the Langoti Párdhi of the Central Provinces described in Colonel Gunthorpe's "Notes on Criminal Tribes." The latter are, so far as can be ascertained, not indigenous to this Presidency and do not visit it. As however an interesting note on the Langoti Párdhis of the Central Provinces, written by Mr. Sewell, District Superintendent of Police, Amraoti, in 1906, may prove useful to Bombay Police Officers, it is reproduced as Appendix I to this compilation.

In the Carnatic, Phás Párdhis are known as Haranshikáris, Advichanchers or Chigribatgirs.

Another branch of the tribe is known as Telvechanya Párdhis. The Telvechanya, as his name implies, is a vendor of a certain mineral oil usually sold in the Deccan by people

from Northern India. It is commonly believed that this oil restores lost vitality and when rubbed into the palm percolates through the hand and exudes at the back.

The few Mahomedan Párdhis found in Cutch, Khandesh and Dharwar (30 in all) are probably converts to Islám.

Lastly, there is a sub-division of the Párdhi tribe known as Cheetáwálla Párdhis who are far less numerous than all other kinds and are not the same source of anxiety to the police.

This depressed tribe is to be found scattered all over the Presidency but is most numerous in Khandesh. It is also found in the Central Provinces and Sind.

Párdhis, with the exception of Tákankars, may well be described as wanderers with no fixed abodes. The sphere of their criminal activities is, as a rule, not more than a radius of eight or ten miles from their encampments or houses, as the case may be, though here and there on the borders of districts of Khandesh and Central Provinces they have been known to go considerably further, even from twenty-five to fifty miles, in pursuit of crime.

Tákankars live in the villages and have houses, but ordinarily do not leave their own districts for criminal expeditions involving absence for any time and do not wander into distant countries.

Wandering Párdhis live in grass huts or páls and generally camp where the supply of water and grazing is good and plentiful and where they can snare game.

In the case of a wandering tribe such as the bulk of Párdhis, census figures are perhaps not altogether accurate, but for what they are worth those of the Bombay Presidency census of 1901 relating to this tribe are given below :—

Wandering Párdhis.

| | | Males. | Females. |
|--------------|-----|--------|----------|
| Cutch | ... | 431 | 410 |
| Kathiawad | ... | 8 | 4 |
| Surat Agency | ... | 3 | 2 |
| Ahmedabad | ... | 13 | 11 |
| Panch Mahals | ... | 2 | 3 |
| Surat | ... | 32 | 27 |
| Thana | ... | 11 | 8 |
| Ahmednagar | ... | 68 | 84 |
| Khándesh | ... | 2,532 | 2,618 |

Wandering Párdhis—contd.

| | | Males. | Females. |
|---------------------|-----|--------|----------|
| Nasik | ... | 252 | 258 |
| Poona | ... | 55 | 70 |
| Satara | ... | 7 | 13 |
| Sholapur | ... | 264 | 234 |
| Bijapur | ... | 160 | 93 |
| Dharwar | ... | 39 | 33 |
| Kolaba | ... | 43 | 44 |
| Savnur State | ... | 5 | 4 |
| Karachi | ... | 486 | 365 |
| Hyderabad | ... | 749 | 637 |
| Shikarpur | ... | 604 | 491 |
| Thar and Parkar | ... | 286 | 257 |
| Upper Sind Frontier | ... | 270 | 228 |
| | | 12,214 | |

Mahomedan Párdhis.

| | | | |
|----------|-----|----|-----|
| Cutch | ... | 11 | 10 |
| Khandesh | ... | 2 | ... |
| Dharwar | ... | 2 | 5 |
| | | 30 | |

Takáris or Tákankars.

| | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Ahmednagar | ... | 30 | 28 |
| Khandesh | ... | 274 | 266 |
| Nasik | ... | 20 | ... |
| Poona | ... | 7 | ... |
| Sholapur | ... | 13 | 14 |
| | | 652 | |

With the exception of those who have settled in villages, Párdhis of all kinds are chiefly distinguished by their scanty dress and general unkempt, dirty appearance. Their hair is neither cut nor combed nor, as a rule, is the beard shaved. Some females wear the *sári* like the Marátha women of the Deccan, others a small skimpy petticoat. All wear the *choli* or bodice covering the chest. Both males and females wear a necklace of coloured or onyx beads, which, with tin, copper-brass and brass bangles and ear-rings and chains form their only adornment. The *dhotar* or cloth thrown over the shoulders or the shirt worn by the male is usually dyed to a shade of brown or, originally white has become a dirty brown colour by wear. Coat and shoes are not, as a rule, worn. The male's head-dress varies between an old tattered rag which twisted into a

Appearance, dress, etc.

rope barely encircles the head and a well-worn *pagri* through which the crown of the head is visible.

It is said that wandering Párdhi devotees of certain goddesses will not wear garments of particular colours; it would seem that this custom was at one time observed by Bauriahs, who had similar restrictions regulated by the particular colour dedicated to the deity worshipped by them—a further proof of the relationship between these two classes.

The Tákankars and the more settled Párdhis dress much like the poorer Kunbis. They bear no resemblance to the wandering division. Their females mostly wear the *lahainga* or *ghāgra* or skirt with *odni* like the poorer women of Gujerat, the fold over the head falling from right to left. Some dress like ordinary Kunbi women and wear *sári* and *choli*.

Intermarriage amongst the various sub-divisions of the Párdhis is forbidden; thus a Tákankar Párdhi may not marry a Phás Párdhi and so on. Tákankars will not eat food cooked by Phás Párdhis, but the latter will partake of food prepared by Tákankars. All Párdhis are much addicted to drink and eat all fish and flesh except beef.

In appearance and physical attributes Tákankars show no marked variation from the ordinary agricultural classes.

As a class, wandering Párdhis vary in complexion between brown and dark, are of medium stature, very hardy, active, with great powers of endurance and keen senses. They cannot possibly be mistaken. The male, with his long unkempt locks, his large metal ear-rings, the dirty rag doing duty as a turban, his scanty nether garments, general wild, squalid appearance, his sneaking gait and black wooden whistle hanging from his neck with which he imitates the call of the partridge, is unmistakable wherever he goes. The female Párdhi is more elaborately attired than the male.

Wandering Párdhis move from place to place with their families in gangs of varying strength numbering even a hundred or more. The men with their snaring nets and nooses and baskets are followed by the women and children carrying the páls and a variety of goods and chattels. Sometimes their paraphernalia are loaded on cows or buffaloes.

Their encampments are squalid in the extreme, overrun by pariah dogs, fowls and miserable-looking half-starved cattle.

During the rains Párdhi gangs collect in the vicinity of towns or villages; when the harvest commences they break up into small parties and wander from place to place.

Cheetáwálla Párdhis catch young panthers and cheeta cubs which they train and sell to 'rájahs' or exhibit, and for this reason probably, sometimes call themselves Ráj Párdhis. They carry these animals about in carts with ^{low} wheels and camp under trees at a distance from villages. They do not carry tents or shelters.

Settled Párdhis, such as Tákankars or Vághri Párdhis who live in towns, occupy the same quarter together. In villages they live in a cluster of huts outside known as the 'Párdhi-wáda.'

The Párdhi's home language is a corrupt guttural mixture of dialects in which Gujerati predominates. It has a strong family likeness to 'Báori-bhásha.' They can also talk Hindustani, and corrupt Maráthi or Canarese according as they live in the Deccan or the Carnatic. As a rule they talk very loud and in the presence of strangers in Hindustani.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Slang used.

The following are some of their
slang expressions:—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| ráj | ... chief constable. |
| khapai | ... constable. |
| mul | ... to run. |
| khapai áwas mul | ... run, the constable is coming. |
| káloo | ... police officer. |
| wassai | ... theft. |
| khonukus | ... gold. |

Enquiry shows that slang expressions in use in one part of the Presidency are not always understood in another.

Though still fond of hunting and poaching, many Tákankars have taken to labour and agriculture and some are employed as village watchmen. Wandering Párdhis beg, snare game, prepare and sell drugs obtained from roots, plants, etc., deal in black and white beads known as 'bajar battoo' used as charms against the evil eye, and in parts collect and sell forest produce. They are expert in catching and netting game and their neat snares 20 to 40 feet long are most skilfully fashioned. Bamboo pegs six inches or so apart

Ostensible means of livelihood.

hold down the main line on which the running nooses are fixed. Made of gut, these lines are strong enough to hold even pig and deer. They are skilfully laid and the animals are cleverly driven over them. Hares and partridges are caught with these snares, pigeon with nets thrown over the mouth of a well and quail and small birds by being driven into nets cunningly spread to catch ground game. To attract game, Párdhis imitate very naturally the partridge call with the whistle carried round the neck and can produce by mouth the calls and cries of peacock, quail, young and old jackals, hares, foxes etc., to the life.

Tákankar Párdhis go in especially for making and repairing grinding-stones.

Cheetáwálla Párdhis in addition to selling cheeta cubs also snare birds and sell herbal medicines. Some have given up catching cheetas and have taken to snaring deer under cover of a bullock and are therefore sometimes known up-country as 'Bahelias,' a corruption for 'Bailwállas.'

Párdhis do not adopt disguises but when committing crime gird up their loins, muffle their faces, wrap a cloth, which is fastened off behind in a knot, round the body and make use of Hindustani words.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

Tákankars amongst Párdhis are the most inveterate house-breakers and dangerous criminals.

Crime to which addicted.

The wandering sporting divisions of Párdhis are not so hardened or expert and as long as game is to be found in plenty indulge in little beyond grain thefts or appropriation of smaller live-stock, though when pinched by hunger or tempted by some favourable opportunity they readily take to more serious forms of crime and are most active during the harvest season. But in degree of criminality, wandering Párdhis differ with their locale. For instance, those met with in Khandesh have on the whole a good reputation in that they are not given to serious crime. In the Southern Marátha Country they are far more troublesome.

Those with criminal propensities wherever met with, are addicted to dacoity and robbery, often, especially by Tákankars, accompanied with great violence, even murder, house-breaking, sheep-stealing, grazing their cattle in ryots' fields thefts of crops, cotton and grain from grain-pits, cattle lifting and cheating.

Dacoities and highway robberies are committed by Párdhis in an organized manner and are usually accompanied by considerable violence. While some effect forcible entry into the house or carry out the attack, others protect their comrades by keeping off any assistance that may arrive. Sheep and goat lifting by stealth or openly is a favourite form of crime. In the commission of ordinary crime Párdhis work in small gangs of two, three or four, and there is an instance on record of an old confirmed Párdhi criminal who worked with his wife only. Information is acquired by the women while begging, also from friendly liquor-vendors and through spies.

The Tákankar's avocation of rechiselling grinding-stones gives him excellent opportunities for examining the interior economy of houses, the position of boxes, cupboards, etc., and gauging the wealth of the inmates.

Párdhis are not averse to allowing other castes to join them or to joining others in the commission of crime. Of late years some of the more intelligent Tákankars have taken to a form of cheating commonly known as the 'confidence trick'—false ornaments being palmed off on to simple villagers as genuine. The Párdhi, taking with him some copper gilt ornaments, visits a village where he has an accomplice. Through the medium of the latter an unsuspecting villager is produced who is only too ready to purchase gold ornaments at a very profitable rate. He is cautioned that, as the ornaments are stolen property, he must keep them hidden for a month or two until police enquiries have ceased. When the purchaser eventually takes the ornaments into use he discovers, when it is too late, that he has been deceived. The dishonest part he has played of course deters him from complaining to the police.

Another form of crime the Tákankar indulges in, in common with many other criminal classes, is that of decoying into a secluded spot outside a village the would-be 'receiver' of stolen property and robbing him of his cash—a trick which carries a wholesome lesson with it. Wandering Párdhis never lapse entirely into crime, their sporting instincts, by which they keep body and soul together, probably saving them from falling to the level of the Kaikádis, whom they approach in physique, boldness in execution and endurance.

The *modus operandi* of the Phás Párdhi varies according to circumstances. A house dacoity differs but little in details from that committed by other local criminals. After previously visiting the house in the day, on the pretext of begging, they rush into the village at night, create an uproar, sometimes with cries of 'Din! Din!' raid the building and beat the inmates more or less severely. They occasionally dig up the floors in search for valuables and before departing sometimes set fire to the roof, if of inflammable material, to create a diversion.

Ears of corn robbed from standing crops are immediately threshed and mixed with grain stolen from other fields to prevent identification.

After the harvest the Phás Párdhi directs his attention to threshing floors and grain-pits and it is here that violence is sometimes used, any watchman endeavouring to defend his charge being ruthlessly knifed or knocked on the head with a stick.

During the day Phás Párdhis roam about begging from cultivators, and noting the position of grain-pits. If given grain they refrain from molesting the donors, looting only those who refuse to comply with their demands.

As a rule only small quantities of grain are carried off, thereby minimising the risk of being tracked by droppings.

Stolen grain is usually stowed away in some place of concealment outside the camp. It is always advisable to examine the blankets of persons suspected of grain thefts for husks adhering thereto. The discovery of these will not improbably result in the culprits' confession of the crime.

In goat and sheep stealing if it is found impossible to kill the animal immediately, it is carried off to a convenient hiding place pending final disposal.

Cattle are lifted while out grazing and are generally driven away to some distance before they are sold or ransom exacted.

The *modus operandi* of the Telvechanya Párdhi in cheating his customers is often effective if somewhat crude and simple. He manufactures a spurious brand of oil and should an intending buyer require the usual test, some oiled rag or rope is surreptitiously placed on the ground or across the Párdhi's knees under the victim's hand to which pressure is applied whilst anointing the palm. Thus the trick is done.

Tákankars are said to be very difficult to influence or to move and seldom admit their guilt or disclose the names of their 'receivers' or accomplices even if caught red-handed.

In the commission of dacoity Párdhis mostly carry slings, stones and sticks and occasionally an axe and torches. Matchlocks, spears and swords are rare, but are not unknown. The favourite instruments for house-breaking are a sort of chisel called *kinkra*, an iron jemmy with a wooden handle called *khantia*, *kettur* or *kutturna* and a *kusa* (plough share).

A knife, which he uses without compunction if hard pressed, is the Phás Párdhi's favourite and constant companion.

Tákankars rarely conceal property in their houses. Wandering Párdhis often conceal their stolen property in holes dug in the ground having a small orifice, but scooped out at the base to form a large receptacle.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

This is another characteristic of the Bauriah, indicative of the common origin of both tribes. The property is put into this, the mouth covered up and over it occasionally one of the gang sleeps. Sometimes stolen property is buried in beds of rivers, fields or somewhere near their encampments. Near the pegs to which they tie their cattle and near the back of their encampments are favourite places of concealment with them.

Párdhis seldom dispose of valuables till a considerable time has elapsed since the offence.

Sheep and goats are mostly slaughtered and consumed at once, the skin being disposed of in a distant bazar or sold to the village 'chámhbâr' or 'dhor.'

They have 'receivers' for all sorts of stolen goods among goldsmiths, liquor-vendors, agriculturists, complaisant village officers and *sáwkárs*.

Coins of the realm are often sewn up and concealed in their quilts.

When changing camp stolen property is conveyed by a single member of the gang a mile or two ahead or in rear of the main body.

Párdhis have also been known to send back to the old site for property buried there, thus anticipating police search when on the road. Women are credited with concealing small

valuables by tying them into a sham bandage round the leg covering an imaginary sore, or between the legs.

The ground in and round an encampment of Pârdhis should invariably be dug or ploughed up before a search is concluded.

The search of a gang should be carried out, so far as possible, in force by the police, as both men and women are apt to be very troublesome and in every way do their best to embarrass the officers.





A Ramoshi.

Ramoshis.

Rámoshis are divided into two main branches known as Purandhar, or Bhandáte Rámoshis, and Holgah Rámoshis. Holgah Rámoshis seem to hold little or no intercourse with the Purandhar Rámoshis, and will not eat food prepared by them. The habits and pursuits, however, of the two tribes are practically similar.

The Deccan is the home of the Rámoshi; the Poona and Sátára Districts his chief stronghold. These two districts and the Native States under the Poona and Satara Agencies produce the most hardy and daring Rámoshi criminals. A few are scattered over other parts of the Presidency. In Bombay Ramoshis are to be met with working in the mills or docks and as cartmen and *hamáls* (porters).

The Rámoshi is not a traveller like the Bhámpta or Chhaparband, nor migratory and evasive like the Kaikádi. His sphere of activity is confined to a radius of thirty or forty miles round the village in which he resides, and he confines his operations to the Maráthi-speaking districts. An outlaw Rámoshi is a difficult man to catch, but, as a rule, does not put more than fifty miles between himself and his home which he periodically and stealthily visits. Ramoshis rarely commit serious offences in or near their own villages or within the limits of the táluka in which they reside. In respect to thefts and ordinary burglaries they are not so particular.

According to the last census, Rámoshis are returned as numbering 60,554 in the whole Presidency including Native States. The following tabular statement gives their distribution :—

Northern Division.

| | | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|-------------|-----|--------|----------|--------|
| Bombay City | ... | 33 | 22 | 55 |
| Ahmedabad | ... | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Thana | ... | 57 | 39 | 96 |

Central Division.

| | | | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|------------|-----|-----|--------|----------|--------|
| Ahmednagar | ... | ... | 1,961 | 1,996 | 3,957 |
| Khandesh | ... | ... | 225 | 229 | 454 |
| Nasik | ... | ... | 437 | 479 | 916 |
| Poona | ... | ... | 11,407 | 10,176 | 21,583 |
| Satara | ... | ... | 10,820 | 10,181 | 21,001 |
| Sholapur | ... | ... | 1,387 | 1,326 | 2,713 |

Native States in Central Division.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| Akalkot | ... | ... | 38 | 29 | 67 |
| Bhor | ... | ... | 526 | 333 | 859 |
| Khandesh Agency | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Satara Agency | ... | ... | 2,615 | 2,334 | 4,949 |

Southern Division.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| Dharwar | ... | ... | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| Kolaba | ... | ... | 23 | 10 | 33 |
| Ratnagiri | ... | ... | 33 | 16 | 49 |

Native States in Southern Division.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|--------|--------|--------|
| Kolhapur | ... | ... | 991 | 901 | 1,892 |
| Southern Marátha Country | ... | ... | 877 | 1,025 | 1,902 |
| Total | ... | ... | 31,443 | 29,111 | 60,554 |

They are of average height to tall, well built, muscular, of good physique and great endurance. *Appearances, dress, etc.* They are dark to black in complexion, somewhat coarse in features and of a low standard of intelligence. In their predatory habits, methods and other characteristics they closely resemble Beráds. In the matter of confessing to crime and giving away confederates and accomplices they are rather obdurate. The best way to get information out of them is to work them through some influential, well-behaved relative or important local personage with influence over them.

There is nothing peculiar about the Rámoshi's dress or appearance. Men and women wear clothes of coarse cloth and dress much like the poorer Hindus of the Deccan. As a rule women do not accompany their husbands for the commission of crime.

Rámoshis are idle, dirty in their habits and appearance and fond of *shikár* in a mild way. They are flesh eaters, but eschew beef.

From time immemorial the Rámoshi has been a dacoit and robber and though with the march of civilization and good government he has settled to a more or less regular life, his restless spirit and the predatory instinct which he has inherited, is soon roused whenever through scarcity or other cause, necessity drives or a favourable opportunity offers.

Rámoshis chew and smoke tobacco and are addicted to drink. As a class they are very clannish.

An oath taken on 'Bel Bhandár,' that is, a pot of water or some grain, turmeric powder and 'bel' tree leaves, all placed on a *ghongdi* (coarse blanket) is considered most binding. Holgah Rámoshis, it is said, take an oath by the *tulsi* plant, Purandhar or Bhandáte Rámoshis, by the 'Bel Bhandár.'

Rámoshis live in houses on the outskirts of towns and villages like other ordinary Hindu inhabitants of the Deccan. They inherit a restless spirit which the progress of civilization and changed conditions have failed to altogether extinguish. For this reason they always require careful watching. The predatory instinct, though latent, is ever ready to become active when favourable opportunity offers, and a leader such as Omáji Náik, his son Tuka Mhankála, the brothers Hari and Tátiá Makáji, whose names are still household words, comes to the front. Comparatively recent history affords instances of this. In 1879 the Rámoshis of Satara and Poona Districts took to open outlawry in large gangs and disturbed the peace of the countryside. To quell the movement it became necessary to call in the aid of the military and appoint experienced and additional European police officers and a large body of extra police, and it was only after lengthened operations over a considerable area that the authorities gained the upper hand and broke up and captured the gangs.

They speak Maráthi of the lower orders. The dialect spoken by Holgahs is Maráthi sprinkled with Canarese words.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Rámoshis have a collection of words, many of which are of Telegu or Canarese derivation, which they use on special occasions, such as when in the act of perpetrating a crime or communicating some secret to their own kinsmen in the presence of outsiders.

Slang used.

Subjoined is a vocabulary of slang expressions used by the class:—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|------------------------------------|--|
| patáv | ... arrest. |
| gardhum | ... ass. |
| tinli <i>or</i> tágla | ... ate. |
| yarwád, yerid | ... bad. |
| saj | ... bajri. |
| nádvad | ... barber. |
| tupli | ... beard, moustache. |
| gon, gondhale | ... beat. |
| ákul | ... betel leaf. |
| kor | ... blanket. |
| pal <i>or</i> nidla | ... blood. |
| yenkul | ... bone. |
| kutli | ... boring (hole). |
| chikad | ... boy or girl. |
| páraga, párud | ... Bráhmin. |
| kudmul | ... bread. |
| yedul | ... bullock. |
| patne | ... to catch. |
| chamgad | ... Chamár. |
| chilad <i>or</i> chikad | ... child. |
| nálgya | ... chief constable. |
| nyanval | ... clarified butter. |
| kapduli <i>or</i> kapdool | ... cloth, clothes. |
| kodle <i>or</i> kodil | ... cock or hen. |
| gadgali, gadgil | ... cocoanut. |
| khogad | ... come. |
| tikliya <i>or</i> tikto | ... coming. |
| murel <i>or</i> murli | ... copper coin. |
| otukli | ... cowdung cakes. |
| kosne | ... to cut. |
| much | ... dacoity. |
| rai | ... dark night. |
| geneli | ... dates. |
| devarami | ... day. |
| deváram ukanto | ... daybreak. |
| árl | ... detection. |
| sasla | ... died. |
| kukul | ... dog. |
| yargu nako | ... do not fear. |
| gudus máchulya chi ka páragyachi? | does the house belong to a Kunbi or a Bráhmin? |
| gonie tari yarwád mât ismadu nako. | don't tell even if you are beaten or killed. |
| valsu nako | ... don't confess. |
| nidla tágayachi | ... to drink liquor or water. |
| yenum, yenuli | ... ears of grain. |
| kokanvadya | ... Englishman. |

| Slang. | | Meaning |
|--------------------------------|-----|---|
| nakoli or kanoli | ... | eyes. |
| tagne | .. | to eat or drink. |
| kudmulí tágayachi | ... | to eat bread. |
| paisoor | ... | fast runner. |
| mudod, muduk, targad | ... | { father, mother. old man or woman. |
| yarap, yargu | ... | to fear. |
| dhárkari | ... | fighting man. |
| shit, dhoopa | ... | fire, torch, lamp. |
| menuli, mengul | ... | fish. |
| ismad | ... | give. |
| okan | ... | go, run. |
| okunto | ... | going. |
| mekli | ... | goat. |
| devram | ... | god. |
| játvád, jétik | ... | good, plentiful. |
| halwa | ... | gold or silver articles of small value. |
| nyán | ... | gold and gold ornaments. |
| nagulwálla | ... | goldsmith. |
| kolach | ... | grain. |
| kadla | ... | gram. |
| tubuk, nadali | ... | gun. |
| kalli | ... | gunpowder. |
| padli ismada amachi | ... | give us our share. |
| phadvád patadamali is- mad. | is- | give the headman some money. |
| játvád ka yarvád? | ... | good or bad, rich or poor, high or low, young or old, strong or weak? |
| katul ismad | ... | give me the sword. |
| mokar | .. | head. |
| gereli | ... | hand. |
| kidpulla | ... | hair. |
| phadvád | ... | headman. |
| khogad | ... | hide. |
| gudumi | ... | hill. |
| guram | ... | horse. |
| gudus, gudsal | ... | house. |
| sitarpádi, much | ... | house-breaking. |
| bokul | ... | hole or opening in a wall. |
| shenat khogada | ... | hide it under ground. |
| pyár | ... | information. |
| kanti ka kayabadli? | ... | is he looking at us or sleeping? |
| gudusat shit ahe ká? | ... | is there a lamp in the house? |
| gonne | ... | to kill. |
| pír gondhoon tákali | ... | killed. |
| kadle, nagul | ... | key or lock or nail. |
| máchulya | ... | Kunbi. |
| pillad | ... | knife. |

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|---|-----|---|
| wákdí | ... | spade. |
| pudkul | ... | ladder. |
| gereli, aduk | ... | leg. |
| kam | ... | letter. |
| nidla | ... | liquor or any liquid. |
| kan | ... | look. |
| játwád tal gudasat khobla an yarvád ismad. | | leave the good turban in the house and take the bad one. |
| ambuj | ... | Máng. |
| mudkáyli | ... | mango. |
| aril | ... | Maratha. |
| shedvad | ... | Máhár. |
| pál | .. | milk. |
| damal, damkati | ... | money. |
| phakat | ... | moonlight. |
| nor, mokar | ... | mouth. |
| mulvad | ... | Musalmán. |
| tunkul | ... | mutton |
| nakul | ... | nose. |
| nedle, nidla | ... | oil. |
| kadli | ... | ornaments of white metal. |
| phadvád | ... | <i>pátíl</i> or man of position. |
| gon | ... | plunder. |
| gádgil | ... | pot. |
| gádgilwála or gardum- wáli. | | potter. |
| junka, zimak | ... | police constable. |
| ghummad | ... | pumpkin. |
| gudus gonayache | ... | to plunder a house. |
| shitachi nidlani yerid kara. | | put out the fire. |
| kondal | .. | rabbit. |
| boyil, bhooyal | ... | Rámoshi. |
| pároshi | ... | the Rámoshi's language. |
| netat | ... | rice. |
| teru | ... | road. |
| gudumila okna | ... | run to the hill. |
| raichach okna | ... | run while it is dark. |
| horkadla | ... | ran away, went. |
| tiskav | ... | to snatch, steal. |
| khugadne | ... | to sit. |
| goril | ... | sheep. |
| korguli or korpáde | .. | shepherd. |
| kolgia, kolgil | ... | shoe. |
| padli, patta | ... | share. |
| belam | ... | sweet thing. |
| tyábgadla or tyábadla | ... | slept. |
| tád | ... | sling. |
| budil | ... | stick. |
| rátal | ... | stone. |

| Slang. | | Meaning. |
|--|-----|--|
| devarami | ... | sun. |
| katul | ... | sword or cutting instrument. |
| devram tikla | ... | sunset. |
| mât mâtul | ... | tale. |
| ismad | ... | take. |
| muchvâd | ... | thief. |
| much | ... | theft. |
| kat-katun ták | ... | to tie. |
| pog | ... | tobacco. |
| aduk | ... | track. |
| tal | ... | turban. |
| devram khugadle | ... | the sun is set. |
| gudusat kukul khogadla | . | there is a dog in the house. |
| nâlgya oorala khogadla | . | a police officer has come to the village. |
| kolgilivar patatyal | ... | they will find you out from your shoes. |
| phadvâdchya gudasamadi zimak khogadla. | | the sepoy is sitting in the <i>pâtîl's</i> house. Take care, he will arrest you. |
| Patil re patil. | | |
| damali ismad | ... | give him money. |
| shit yarapli | ... | the lamp is out. |
| oorid | ... | town. |
| bungad, bungadia | ... | Vâni. |
| bokul | ... | vessel. |
| phadur, oor, oorul | ... | village. |
| chânpâ | ... | keep watch. |
| godhmal | ... | wheat. |
| adat, adtool | ... | wife or woman. |
| pudkul | ... | wood or wooden article. |
| adata, childa, mât ismad naka. | | don't speak, women and children. |
| ambuj gudasala kâ-khogadlay? Kudmulis mad an okna. | | why has the Mâng come to our house? Give him bread and let him go. |
| kâ boyalis, yarvâd kâ jâtvâd. | | well, Râmoshis, are you true Râmoshis or Râmoshis only in name? |
| chiladi ami tumachi | ... | we are your children. |
| yedasla | ... | wept |
| pogdya | ... | a young goat. |
| nidlatâgun yarvâd vâl | ... | you will drink liquor and become foolish. |
| aduk gudusalla yeill | .. | you will leave a trace. |

A large number are hereditary village watchmen and a few are enlisted in the police. They also cultivate land, hire themselves out as field watchmen, labour in the fields, take domestic service,

Ostensible means of livelihood.

ply carts for hire and even work as coolies. The women too work in the fields and earn an honest penny.

Rámoshis do not, as a rule, adopt any disguises. When committing gang robbery or dacoity they tie up their faces and, if they have reason to fear recognition, so much as is left visible they sometimes smear with white or coloured powder. When travelling far afield they sometimes pass themselves off as Maráthas or Kunbis.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

With the predatory instinct in his veins and naturally of a daring and reckless spirit, the Rámoshi will commit any crime against property likely to yield him profit, such as dacoity, robbery, crop stealing and other cognate offences. He is known to be a confirmed burglar and when in straits will resort to cattle and sheep lifting. He also levies black-mail from travellers and cart-men putting up at his village for the night and if it is not paid, the victim is pretty certain to be robbed during the night or shortly after he has started in the early hours of the morning. Similarly standing crops unless very carefully guarded by the owner or watched by a Rámoshi are sure, sooner or later, to be robbed by the village Rámoshis.

Crime to which addicted.

Methods employed in committing crime and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Heinous crimes are committed only on dark nights or in the last quarter of the moon. Before venturing on a dacoity or other crime the Rámoshi carefully selects the house to be raided or the scene of attack, as the case may be, and ascertains such particulars concerning the locality, his victims etc., as will facilitate the execution of his design, carefully calculating the nature of resistance he is likely to meet.

Information in the case of a contemplated attack on a house, is sometimes obtained through their women who visit the house under the pretence of borrowing money, or through local bad characters. But in the sphere of their criminal activities there are Rámoshis in nearly every village and from and by these, information is easily secured and conveyed.

For the commission of an organized crime the Rámoshi sets about forming a gang of numerical strength varying from three to twelve or even fifteen. The leader of the gang is styled 'náik' and he fixes and determines the strength and constitution of the gang, which is not made up from individuals of only one village, for the work in hand.

The members of a criminal gang muffle their faces when delivering an attack and often dispose a blanket or *kāmbli* in a peculiar manner over their heads, fastening the ends round the waists.

There is little difference between the Rámoshis' and the Berads' methods, and the actual dacoity, robbery or burglary is carried out on much the same lines.

About a mile or two from the scene of crime a halt is called and superfluous clothing etc. is concealed in some convenient place. When nearing the scene of operations torches are often lighted and bombs exploded. The loud reports alarm the villagers who on seeing the gang approaching with blazing torches barricade their doors and windows, which is exactly the effect the depredators wish to produce in order to leave them a free hand. On arrival at the scene of the crime some of the gang take up positions covering the approaches to the house to be attacked. Each of these carries with him a supply of fairly big stones and on reaching his allotted position commences to hurl these from slings down lanes and roads, on to the roofs and at the doors of adjoining houses to prevent people from coming to the assistance of the inmates of the house attacked. Those of the gang who are deputed to ransack the house carry hatchets with which doors are broken open. If resistance is offered, no mercy is shown; but if property is speedily handed over, no personal violence is used. Having rushed the house, Rámoshis call on the inmates to produce their property under threats of decapitation with hatchets and not infrequently expedite matters by the application of lighted torches to the persons of their victims. They search women for ornaments which they often forcibly remove. They are however credited with chivalrous instincts in this connection in respect to married females and will not steal the *mangalsutra*. Having got all they can lay hands on, they leave, but before doing so, caution the inmates under pain of death against raising an alarm. During the progress of the crime, property annexed by individual members is retained for subsequent pooling. Having left the house they sometimes chain the doors from outside. While members of the gang are operating in the house, the stone throwers continue to pelt the adjoining buildings and roads. When the gang has disappeared, heaps of stones are often found round about the ransacked premises. While the attack is in progress, abusive expressions reflecting on married women and slang threatening terms are freely used.

It is to the credit of the Rámoshi that he will not deliberately take life or offer more violence than the circumstances of the case require, and rarely strikes above the shoulders. He is usually considerate towards females and unless resistance or opposition is shown will not use violence towards them. As a rule, he does not associate with members of other castes and will not join a criminal gang headed by a Máng, though he will allow Mángs and members of other castes to join his gang.

The crime accomplished the gang decamps with all possible speed and returns to the spot where their belongings have been hidden. Here the booty is pooled, members searched, and arrangements for the division of property made. The gang then makes for home, dispersing one by one at the parting of ways, as necessary. In order to mislead the police, they fix their rendezvous in a direction different to the one in which they ultimately retreat.

The 'dhárkari' (fighting man) and the 'paisoor' (fast runner) get larger shares than the rest.

There is nothing unique in their methods of committing highway robbery or dacoity. The gang usually divides into small groups which lie in ambush in the vicinity of the scene of attack. On the approach of a conveyance or a wayfarer the culprits pounce on their prey, belabour individuals and rob them of valuables.

In committing house-breaking the Rámoshi prefers to break in through a back or side wall in the 'rumáli' fashion.

If a *lathi* or club is found on the scene of an offence, an examination of it may perhaps offer a clue as between Rámoshis and Mángs. The former are credited with holding the weapon by its thinner end and the latter by the thicker. But whether this is a safe way of determining the identity of the culprits is open to doubt and too much reliance need not be placed on it.

As a rule they avoid as much as possible being seen when proceeding to or returning from the scene of a crime, travelling generally by night and through jungles avoiding main roads and hiding in ravines and *nállahs* during the day. But an instance is known where a strong gang of twelve Rámoshis from Purandhar took a night train together from Poona, alighted at a roadside station twenty miles off, marched ten or twelve miles, committed a dacoity in a house previously marked

down, dispersed and returned home by road. Rámoshis committing a burglary do not usually explore the house. They commit the crime on information obtained and do not penetrate further into the house than the room into which they have broken.

Sheep lifting is usually committed about midnight by individuals as well as small gangs. The sheep pen is approached from the lee side and while the rest of the gang halt about a hundred and fifty yards off, one member (not disguised in any way) approaches boldly, rapidly and squats down near the pen. Entering the enclosure a sheep is lifted from the edge of the flock and carried off to his companions. The right arm is passed between the animal's hind legs and the other through the fore legs, the sheep's neck being pressed under the left arm-pit, the pressure being increased if the sheep shows any tendency to bleat. If no alarm has been caused, the lifter repeats the process as often as he can. The gang then retreats to a pre-arranged place where the animals are killed and their flesh distributed.

To prevent sheep and goats lifted from bleating, the cruel method of pinning the animal's tongue down with a large thorn is attributed to Rámoshis, Katodis and Kaikádís, though instances of the kind have not, so far as is known, come to light.

Torches, a sword or gun, if either can be obtained, sticks, slings, stones, a hatchet or crowbar to break down doors and potash bombs to frighten the villagers into the belief that the gang carries fire-arms and to keep off assistance, are the weapons usually carried in the commission of crime, though all are not necessarily carried in every case.

Stolen property is usually buried in jungles, in hill-sides etc. and afterwards unearthed and disposed of through Márwádís, Gujars and Sonars. *Pátís* and *kulkarnis* also assist in the disposal of property, as well as in misleading investigating officers and for their trouble get a share of the plunder. Rámoshis do not bury property in their own fields.

Stolen property is generally not divided at once. The leader or some selected member of the gang is responsible for its safe

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

custody and disposal. After it has been turned into cash, each man gets his share, the leader getting slightly more than the others. The usual rate for gold is eight or twelve rupees per tola.

Rámoshis prefer to dispose of stolen property to 'receivers' through a reliable middleman of a different caste.

Vaghris.

Vághris, also known as Bâghris, are subdivided into many classes, the best known of which are :—

Chunária.

Dátania (also known as Tamburias and Godriyas).

Vedoo or Vedva.

Chunwália.

Kankodia including Chikadia.

Patani or Patanwádiya.

Talabda.

Dhándaria or Dhándaya.

Gujerat Vághris are distinct from a wandering class of Bâoris commonly known as Márwád Vághris or Gujerat Bâoris who hail from Márwád. These Gujerat Bâoris often try in the Bombay Presidency to pass themselves off as Vághris whom they strongly resemble in dress, appearance and habits.

Again Vághris must not be mistaken for Tákankar Párdhis who are also known as Vághri Párdhis.

The Vághri's home in this Presidency is in Gujerat and the neighbouring Native States with the Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts as their stronghold. South they extend as far as the Surat District and some are generally to be found in the outlying parts of Bombay City.

Vághris are also scattered all over Kathiawad and a few in the Panch Mahals. The real Gujerat Vághri does not live in any numbers south of the Narbada river.

Their sphere of special activity extends throughout Gujerat, Kathiawad and includes Bombay City. They are to be met with here and there pretty well all over the Bombay Presidency proper and are known to visit the Central Provinces and to have been convicted in Karachi. Some travel as far as Madras in the south, Calcutta in the east, and north to Delhi and Agra.

As a class they are not a nomadic tribe. The majority are settled in villages. Some however do wander in small

gangs with their portable huts, families, household gods and lead the life of gipsies, while others travel about the country putting up in *dharamsâlās*, in temple premises and where circumstances permit, live in houses, in the towns and villages.

Vāghris who leave their homes in Gujerat, to wander, usually do so after the 'Diwali.' During the rainy months they settle down temporarily wherever they may happen to be, beginning to wander again with the commencement of the fair season.

Talabda Vāghris have no fixed period for leaving home and do not make regular tours. Their gangs rarely exceed four or five. They do not camp outside villages. When leaving home by rail they generally walk some distance to a station where they are not likely to be known or observed and when returning, alight at a different station to the one they started from. When on the move they are not accompanied by women and children.

The total Vāghri population in this Presidency is about 60,000 souls and is distributed as under:—

Population according to last census, and distribution.

| | | Males. | Females. |
|---------------|-----|--------|----------|
| Ahmedabad | ... | 8,728 | 8,198 |
| Kaira | ... | 5,876 | 5,197 |
| Broach | ... | 1,394 | 1,234 |
| Bombay City | ... | 526 | 568 |
| Surat | ... | 372 | 305 |
| Panch Mahals | ... | 199 | 186 |
| Native States | ... | 14,095 | 12,978 |
| | | 31,190 | 28,666 |
| | | 59,856 | |

Vāghris are Hindus and occupy intermediate rank between Kolis and Dheds. They are practically outcasts and live in small huts outside the precincts of their villages.

Appearance, dress, etc.

'Bhuvas,' who are their priests, are often also their social leaders.

There is nothing distinctive about their dress, which is that of the lower Gujerati classes. The men are poorly clad in a pair of short breeches or waist-cloth, shirt or a *pairan* and a head-scarf tied in a circular fashion and usually leaving the

scalp uncovered. Talabda and Chunária Vághris are cleaner and better dressed than others. Vághri women dress as a rule in petticoats, *kanchlis* or bodices with the back open and an *odni* or upper cloth. In some instances the *sári* is worn in Gujerat fashion. Talabda females wear a long *sári* which entirely covers the petticoat and body. All Vághri women wear ear-rings and broad wooden or glass bangles. Talabda women excepted, those of other divisions have a prejudice against wearing silver anklets.

The Gujerat Gazetteer well describes Vághris as being rather small and slightly built. Few of them are above the middle height, but all are active, wiry and well proportioned. Their strength and powers of endurance are great. They are dark skinned generally, with coarse and irregular features, but here and there distinctly good-looking Vághri youths are to be found. A few of the younger women are well made and comely. Mostly both men and women are dirty and slovenly and though occasionally well-to-do are always poorly clad and have the whine and fawning ways of beggars.

Those that wander do so under a head-man in bands of from five to ten with their families and animals, staying two or three days in a place. Excepting the cow and jackal they eat all flesh, including that of the pig. They do not eat carrion. Both sexes are given to drinking. They are a naturally lazy and thriftless class, but among Chunárias and Talabdas a few are to be found who are of a frugal turn of mind.

Vághri women are immoral, though the men pride themselves on the chastity of their females.

When a Vághri is absent from home his wife, cleverly imitating his voice, will answer for him, should any policeman call from outside to ascertain if the man is present.

Chikadia Vághris grow long beards and wear larger turbans than others. Round the neck a silver square pendant is hung. It bears an inscription in Bálbodh character "रामदे पौर" (*Rámde pir*) on one side and on the reverse the image of a horse.

Kankodias do not wear this pendant and do not grow beards.

Vághris speak the Gujerati of the lower classes. They also speak among themselves a dialect resembling corrupt Gujerati which however the average Gujerati cannot easily understand. One noticeable peculiarity in their speech is that they dwell on their words.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

The following is a collection of a few slang expressions peculiar to the Vághris, current both at home and on their expeditions :—

| Slang used. | Slang. | Meaning. |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | mádh, mád, biladi, <i>or</i> mádio. | policeman. |
| | zemrálu | ... house-breaking and theft. |
| | zemee | ... theft. |
| | mádheno | ... stolen jewellery. |
| | háthwán | ... stolen clothes. |
| | vechvali khavun | ... to sell off. |
| | tándá | ... grain. |
| | tándá leva | ... to steal grain. |
| | tárkho | ... a rupee. |
| | piliun | ... gold. |
| | dholiun | ... silver. |
| | kátki | ... a stick, <i>láthi</i> . |
| | laraplun <i>or</i> larapli | ... 'dhāria' (sharp bill-hook), a big knife. |
| | papkali jāvun | ... to run away. |
| | chamai jāvun | ... to hide. |
| | bhurio <i>or</i> makado | ... a European, a saheb. |
| | pelo <i>or</i> jelvo | ... stranger or outsider. |
| | ohadechhe <i>or</i> chátar-echhe. | is coming. |
| | khávari | ... a Vaghri. |
| | veidi | ... a Vaghri woman. |
| | zánkhlu | ... dog. |
| | bhunkaru | ... donkey. |
| | dátardu | ... instrument for house-breaking. |
| | chirio | ... bunch of keys. |
| | digādun | ... peacock. |
| | kharpáli levun | ... to rob. |
| | bándo | ... an associate in crime. |
| | norkun <i>or</i> dodí | ... a Dhūrála. |
| | ducho | ... a Kunbi. |
| | bandun <i>or</i> mokun | ... a Musalman. |
| | chháman | ... a Bráhmín. |
| | chenio | ... a Bania. |
| | tento | ... a Girásia or a Rájput. |
| | vasoo | ... money. |

The cry of a jackal, which is well simulated by the Vághri, is in use among them as a signal to others to foregather at the place whence the call proceeds, and also to notify presence.

Chunárias are lime-burners and cultivators. In the Ahmedabad District and especially in the city of Ahmedabad they deal in old bricks which they obtain from ruins and dilapidated buildings. They keep pack bullocks. They are not addicted to crime.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

Dátanias are sellers of stick brushes for cleaning the teeth and beat the *tom-tom* during marriage festivities for a consideration. In the rainy season they grow cucumbers, marsh-melons (*chibdas*) and other small vegetables, which their women hawk for sale. They are also fowlers.

Vedooos are cultivators and like Dátanias grow vegetables in the rainy season. When the monsoon is over they make and sell reed 'tatties' and deal in bamboos. They also trade in country tobacco pipes, made in Kathiawad, and keep male buffaloes for stud purposes.

Chunwálias make and sell imitation honey and cultivate vegetables.

Kankodias are small cultivators. They also collect and sell honey, roots and herbs for medicinal purposes and rear goats.

Chikadías are inveterate beggars. They are expert in exciting the sympathy of credulous and superstitious Hindus by pretending either to be suffering from some incurable disease or to be the victims of some serious misfortune or that some one of their women is in the pangs of childbirth and in need of pecuniary help. They also pretend to be *sádhus* of the Vághri tribe.

Patanis trade in young bullocks which they take in droves to all parts of Gujerat and sell to cultivators, giving their customers a year's credit. Castration of bullocks is also a part of their calling.

Talabdas are cultivators. They rear goats and sheep, serve as watchmen and are employed as hewers of wood. They also deal in mangoes, mhowra flowers and other fruits. In the rainy season both men and women take to field labour.

Dhándárias are cattle dealers, in the monsoon, grow vegetables and trade in mangoes and other fruit in season. They are, mostly, well to-do and not addicted to crime.

Vághris as a class take to field labour spasmodically. Many, both men and women, have settled in Ahmedabad and other large cities where some earn an honest livelihood by working in mills or support themselves by rearing small live-stock, fishing and snaring; others again wander about begging. They find their way in considerable numbers to Bombay during times of scarcity.

Some Vághris are expert at snaring ground game and animals and keep snares called *fándás*. They also catch wild duck, pelican, and other aquatic birds and serve occasionally as *shikáris* to European officers and railway servants. They closely imitate bird-calls and other jungle sounds, catch birds and induce compassionate Hindus to pay for releasing them.

Dátanias and Chunwálias and possibly here and there members of other classes, travel about the country exhibiting peep-shows.

Gujerat Vághris are clever in adopting disguises. Sometimes they pass themselves off as Dhárálas or Kolis and Girásias and the women as Girásins, with the object of getting employ in some family and decamping at the first opportunity with what they can lay hands on. Elsewhere they often pass themselves off as Mális and Phul Mális. They occasionally disguise themselves as Banias and Sádhus when proceeding to or returning from the scenes of crime. When begging, Vághris frequently assume the garb of 'Jogis' and astrologers. Sometimes one who happens to be fair and otherwise suitable for the part, passes himself off as a Thákore or some such respectable person, his companions posing as servants. In this way an acquaintance with Banias and other well-to-do people is struck up with an eye to business on dark nights.

Vághri women are also said to be able to disguise themselves as women of the Bráhmin, Pátidár, Rajput and other superior classes with considerable success.

In a prolonged conversation their language, and when discussing and performing religious topics and ceremonies their ignorance, and at meals, their greediness, bad manners and want of ease, betray their disguise.

Pilfering, house-breaking, picking pockets and cheating are the special forms of crime to which Vághris, as a class, are addicted and in which they excel. They occasionally indulge in robbery and dacoity. Among Vedoos and Dátanias the women are the most troublesome. They are specially given to thieving among women and children travelling by rail.

The Vedoos, Dátanias, Chunwálias and Patanis living in populous towns and cities are greatly addicted to pilfering and picking pockets. Talabda Vághris and their females are addicted to thefts of standing crops and are a nuisance to the villagers.

The males are notorious as house-breakers and cheats. They are also given to cattle lifting.

The Patani Vághris are also given to cattle lifting when a convenient opportunity presents itself. An instance or two are on record of Vághri women having been caught on the railway in the act of smuggling opium concealed in their under-garments.

All criminal divisions of Vághris follow, more or less, the same methods of house-breaking, pilfering and picking pockets. The last mentioned form of crime is confined to those who frequent towns and cities.

Methods employed in committing crime and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Vághris while wandering about begging are always on the look-out to pilfer or steal and often while so employed gain useful information. When begging in large cities they sometimes pretend to be deaf and dumb. Thus they excite pity, stimulate charity and all the while they spy around and mark down suitable houses for their midnight adventures. The part of the poor deaf and dumb beggar secures greater facilities than would otherwise be allowed for prospecting premises and at the same time is calculated to save them in awkward situations.

Other methods they have for acquiring information are for the men to go about from house to house with an axe asking for wages to chop up wood and through their women who visit houses selling vegetables.

Living scattered in villages they keep in touch with members of their community living in neighbouring villages and even in those at considerable distances from their own. Thus

they are able to arrange meeting places and plan the commission of crime. As a rule they do not associate with other castes for criminal purposes, but not infrequently they are accompanied on thieving expeditions by 'Talabda' and 'Chunvāliya' Kolis.

They are dexterous in using the *khātariyā*, exhibit 46 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate IV. With the end of this instrument they pick out bricks and stones and with the crook they wrench off staples of boxes or doors.

They have been known to get into upper storey rooms by climbing up water-pipes and when houses are divided by *very* narrow passages, by wriggling up simply by pushing against the opposite walls with back and legs.

At night they also prowl about and dexterously remove ornaments from the persons of those who lie asleep in open verandahs. Usually, Vāghris do not use violence in the commission of crime. If discovered in the act and pursued they will, however, when hard pressed, not hesitate to use weapons of offence such as the *vānsi*, exhibit 54 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, to avoid capture.

Talabda Vāghris are credited with scruples against stealing anything but cash and ornaments, but there is reason to believe that they are not so particular. Vāghris, men or women, will seldom confess or implicate their confederates.

When committing burglary they prefer to lift the door off its hinges if possible; if unsuccessful in this they go in for the 'bagli' method of making a hole at the side of the door-frame and removing the bolt or chain, or breaking through the back wall of the house, the hole made being apparently, though not really, too small to admit a man. Removing a small window-frame is another favourite mode of ingress. A gang intent on burglary does not usually exceed five; a couple enter the building, one or two keep watch outside, while others are at hand to receive what may be passed out. Once in the house, the intruders take care to secure a speedy retreat by leaving a door or window open. To attract each other's attention, the hiss of a serpent or the squeak of a mouse is imitated.

Talabda Vāghris who are reported to be expert burglars, visit the houses of their friends in the guise of Banias and through them acquire useful information. Sometimes they

visit the house to be burgled in the day, to mark its situation, surroundings etc. They walk about in the streets in an unconcerned innocent manner, but if closely watched the shifty way they look about and use their eyes betrays them. As a rule they do not commit crime in streets in which their friends reside. In common with other criminals they prefer dark nights for burglaries.

They have friends among Bráhmíns, Banias and other castes who supply them with information regarding promising houses.

The following are some of the methods adopted by Vághri cheats :—They entice some greedy 'receiver' with false or genuine ornaments, as the case may be, to some convenient spot and there, while the transaction is being carried out, confederates acting the part of policemen put in an appearance. The dupe is persuaded to make himself scarce, leaving of course the ornaments and cash, till the bargain can be concluded on another more favourable occasion ; or, in the anxiety and confusion caused by the arrival of the 'police,' spurious ornaments are cleverly substituted for the genuine ones and the 'receiver' is hurried off ; or, yet a third farce enacted is to prevail on the 'receiver' to part with his cash and for themselves to hand over the ornaments to the 'police' as hush-money. Way-laying and robbing the 'receiver' on his way home after the cash and ornaments have changed hands is another form of villainy Vághris are given to.

Another effective manner of cheating, usually practised in big cities, is as follows :—The Vághri having noticed a suitable looking victim drops, as a bait in his path, a piece of metal coloured and made to look like a small bar of gold freshly cut. The victim sees it and picks it up. Now is the time for the Vághri to act. He accosts the finder and claims a share of the prize. If the victim refuses, the Vághri resorts to threats of reporting the matter to the police and eventually with some reluctance agrees to accept hush-money and to leave the bar with the lucky finder. Some rupees pass hands and the victim subsequently discovers how he has been duped into paying ten or twelve rupees perhaps for a worthless piece of metal. Occasionally the culprit has a confederate who comes into the game as a mediator at a suitable moment.

Vághri women are reported to be very clever in removing ornaments from the persons of children. On festive occasions

among the Hindus, when the dinner is over and the company disperses, Vághri women will also mix with the female guests and dexterously remove ornaments from the persons of women and children, passing property so stolen rapidly from one to another till the article is soon a long way off. They even participate in a Bráhmin feast, in the guise of Bráhmin women, dropping in at the last moment, and ply their avocation among the women there assembled.

If Vághris, men or women, see a child unattended in the street, they will offer him sweet-meats or fruit, or show him glass marbles and so decoy him to a secluded spot and remove ornaments from his person. When begging in the streets they will quietly trespass into a house and pilfer what they find ready to hand; if caught, they pretend to be beggars.

Vághri women, whether pilfering from houses or on a railway, usually work in small gangs of two or more. On the railway their *modus operandi* is as follows:—Two or three of them disguised as women of a superior class enter a female compartment of a night train. One of them under the pretence that there is no room or because she wishes to suckle her child, who is pinched to make it cry, lies down on the floor of the compartment and pretends to go to sleep. Selecting a bag or a trunk on the floor of the carriage, she either cuts it open with a piece of glass or small knife or opens the usual flimsy lock with a nail or key. The property is handed up to a confederate on the seat above the thief, who in turn secretes it between her legs or in a pocket in her petticoat. The women then alight at the first station and decamp. A clue to the offence may be obtained by enquiring whether, at any stations prior to the one at which the theft was discovered, any long or short distance tickets have been collected. Some of the better looking women are adepts at ingratiating themselves with subordinates of the station staff at roadside stations frequented by them.

Instances have been reported where Vághri women have contracted marriages with monied Pátidárs or Kunbis who for social reasons may have found difficulty in securing a wife and have lived with them for some time in order to ascertain where the duped husband keeps his valuables and money. A favourable opportunity occurring, when the husband is away from home, the Vághri woman makes off with all she can lay hands on.

The Vághri's chief and favourite house-breaking implement is called *khátariyá*, exhibit 46 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate IV, or *ganeshiyu*. This instrument is about eighteen inches in length, and has a crook at one end and the other is flattened and sharpened like a chisel.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Some other weapons and paraphernalia that they carry when committing crime are a *vinjanoo* (chisel), *kariyáii dháng*, exhibit 26 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, which is a weighted club or *láthi* with a number of iron rings at one end, knife, the *vánsi*, exhibit 54 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, a *dhária* (sharp bill-hook), exhibit 31 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, a bunch of keys, match box and candles. The Vághri woman's aids to crime are some keys and a small bag under the arm-pit in which she stows away stolen articles and on railways a piece of glass or a small knife for cutting open hand luggage.

Stolen property is usually buried in the fields and is not disposed of till two or three months after the crime. It is turned into cash through Pátidars, Girásias, Bantias, Rajputs, village *pátils*, and goldsmiths, but now-a-days chiefly through Memon hawkers from Kathiawad who perambulate Gujerat selling perfumes, small jewellery, pearls, cloth etc., and are specially useful as 'receivers,' their tin boxes being peculiarly suited as receptacles for the temporary deposit of stolen jewellery.

Ways and means of concealing and disposing of stolen property.

When away from home if a good haul is made, some of the women are occasionally employed to convey the 'loot' home by rail.

When searching the male or female of this caste the private parts of the suspect should not be overlooked, as like Chhapparbands and Bāoris, Vághris are in the habit of secret-ing small articles in natural passages.

The petticoats of Vághri women, which are often provided with cunningly secreted pockets, and the *tamboora* or *ek-tára* (one-stringed musical instrument) of the begging Vághri, should also be carefully investigated.

A Vághri encampment should be ploughed up before a search is given up. Success in an important venture is often marked by feasting, drinking and revelry in which 'Bhuvas' are invited to participate.

Waddars.

Waddars are of Telegu origin. They are divided into

Name of criminal class or tribe. the following sub-divisions :—

Mann Waddar or Māti Waddar (earth-workers).

Bhandi Waddar or Gādi Waddar (cart-men).

Kall Waddar, Pāthrat, Janti or Dagdi Waddar (stone-dressers) known in Madras as Issurrāye (*i. e.*, grinding stone) Waddars.

Ghatti Waddar, also known as Donga (thief) or Takka (cheat) Waddar.

They are found scattered all over the Deccan, the Carnatic and parts of the Konkan, in this Presidency.

Habitat.

As a class, Waddars are migratory, making temporary encampments at places where they obtain work. Some of the Mann and the Bhandi sub-divisions are settled in villages.

Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities.

Bhandi and Ghatti Waddars, more criminal than the rest of the class, will ordinarily go thirty miles or so from their encampments to commit dacoity. Their house-breaking operations are confined to a radius of eight to fifteen miles from their dwellings. If they mark down a house to be burgled or raided at a greater distance than they can conveniently cover in a day or two, they will, if the *pātil* be friendly and not likely to make inconvenient enquiries during their absence, leave their encampment and go a hundred miles or so in pursuit of crime, but such instances are rare. They do not commit crime in the village in which they reside nor in the limits of which they are encamped, and usually go outside the *tāluka* to commit serious crime.

Population according to last census, and distribution.

The Bombay Presidency census report of 1901 gives the following figures of the Waddar population :—

| | | | Males. | Females. |
|------------|-----|-----|--------|----------|
| Thana | ... | ... | 618 | 507 |
| Kathiawad | ... | ... | 92 | 80 |
| Ahmednagar | ... | ... | 3,237 | 3,213 |
| Khandesh | ... | ... | 1,213 | 1,032 |



Waddars.

| | Males. | Females. |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Nasik | 601 | 563 |
| Poona | 1,492 | 1,444 |
| Satara | 1,853 | 1,889 |
| Sholapur | 2,999 | 3,065 |
| Native States | 633 | 711 |
| Belgaum | 3,413 | 3,230 |
| Bijapur | 6,218 | 5,883 |
| Dharwar | 8,795 | 8,766 |
| Kanara | 1,556 | 1,570 |
| Kolaba | 227 | 189 |
| Native States | 4,552 | 4,402 |
| | <hr/> 37,499 | <hr/> 36,544 |
| | <hr/> 74,043 <hr/> | |

Waddars are of fine physique, dark complexion, capable of much endurance, and generally hard-working. As a class they are dirty, thriftless and hard drinkers, eat every description of animal food including village pig and are specially fond of rats. They however eschew beef. They smoke *gānja* and tobacco.

Like other depressed classes they wear scanty clothing. The male's dress consists of a *dhotar* (loin-cloth) or *cholna* (short drawers), *angi* or *pairan* (shirt), a *rumāl* or a piece of cloth for the head, and a *hachda* (coarse sheet), *kambal* (blanket) or shoulder-cloth worn over the shoulders. Men do not wear shoes.

Women dress in a *sāri* with the upper end passed over the head and across the bosom; they do not wear the bodice, nor glass bangles on the right hand; they wear brass or *kāsa* bracelets.

Bhandi Waddars wander about the country, encamp outside villages, live in huts made of mat, grass etc., screens being fixed across the open ends. They are accompanied by women and children, and use their characteristic, low, solid-wheeled carts.

Kall Waddars camp near the village—live in *pāls* made of patch-work cloth, seldom in mat huts, are accompanied by their families, pack donkeys etc.

Ghatti Waddars encamp about a mile or two from the village, usually in the forest or on waste lands, live in bamboo screen huts, openings being covered with mats, and are accompanied by their families, pack asses, goats etc.

Mann Waddars are mostly settled in villages.

Waddar encampments are known in the Carnatic as *gumpus*, each having a 'náik' or 'peddadoo' who is the head-man in matters both social and criminal.

Social disputes are decided by the head-man and *panchayat* or council of elders.

Among themselves Waddars speak a corrupt form of Telegu. They can also speak the Maráthi or Canarese of the lower orders according to the district they live in.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Slang and signs used.

The following are some of the slang expressions used by Waddars of the Carnatic :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-------------------|--|
| shilákatti | ... house-breaking implement. |
| mulláwádu | ... constable. |
| manaklu | ... hole. |
| dongpáni, walkamu | ... stolen property. |
| parmeshvar | ... higher official of the police etc. |
| nematu | ... villagers or village authorities. |
| peradu | ... house. |
| kottalu or unsalu | ... beating or raiding. |
| peradu unsalu | ... house dacoity. |
| dong | ... theft. |
| peddadoo | ... leader of the gang. |

A broad line drawn with the side of the foot in soft earth and ending with a foot-print pointing to the direction taken, is the means Ghatti Waddars employ at cross roads or turnings to indicate to others of the community coming behind, the route taken.

Mann Waddars cultivate land, are field labourers, sink wells, dig tanks and do earth-work for villagers. They are also largely employed on road-repairing and earth-work of all kinds.

Ostensible means of live-
lihood.

Bhandi Waddars are quarrymen and carry the stones on their distinctive carts described above, are largely employed by the Public Works Department on road-making, etc., sink wells, dig tanks and a few are cultivators.

Kall Waddars are stone-masons, make grinding-stones and other stone articles of domestic use; their females rechsel grinding stones. Members of this class are generally well-to-do.

Ghatti Waddars live entirely on the proceeds of crime.

Waddars also snare and kill pig and are often employed by the villagers to rid their crops, sugarcane, etc., of these pests.

Women assist the men in earning a livelihood.

Disguises are not adopted by Waddars. Signals are exchanged by whistles and gestures.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

When committing dacoities they muffle their faces and, in localities where they are likely to be recognized, smear both face and chest with lime. Waddars of the criminal divisions will endeavour to pass themselves off as belonging to one of the honest labouring sub-divisions of the class.

Mann Waddars go in specially for house-breaking, steal-

Crime to which addicted.

ing field produce, opening grain-pits and petty thefts. They rarely commit more serious offences.

Bhandi Waddars are expert burglars. They also indulge in sheep lifting and petty thefts. Occasionally they commit dacoity or robbery.

Kall Waddars are said to be the least criminal of all the sub-divisions, though some, now and again, take to burglary, sheep lifting, etc. They do not, as a rule, commit serious crime.

Ghatti Waddars are credited with being the most criminal of the class. They commit house or highway dacoity, robbery, house-breaking, sheep lifting, theft, etc. Their women and children are also given to pilfering, and attend markets and fairs for the purpose.

The males will also sometimes exploit villages in the neighbourhood of their encampments at night and remove ornaments from off persons found sleeping outside houses.

Waddars have no prejudice against admitting other castes into their gangs or joining with others in the commission of crime.

House Dacoity.

Information is obtained through local bad characters with

Methods employed in committing crime and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

whom Ghatti Waddars take care to strike up friendship, through boys who are sent ostensibly to beg, or through the women who visit houses under the

pretence of retouching grinding-stones. On such occasions the females are accompanied by lads or old men who afterwards serve as guides to the able-bodied members of the gang who subsequently commit the dacoity. If the information so acquired requires verification, or if details are wanting, some member of the gang will visit the village with donkeys on the pretext of looking for one that has strayed and he then takes stock of the house and its situation. After this has been done, the encampment is moved to a distant village. Gangs are usually formed of from ten to fifteen members, sometimes more, either from one *gumpu* (*tānda*) or more. These assemble and discuss the plan of action. This decided on, a meeting place in the vicinity of the scene of the proposed crime and the exact time for assembling at that place are fixed. To concentrate at the rendezvous the members of the gang travel in twos and threes and by different roads at night, resting or hiding during the day. When all are assembled the leader or 'peddadoo' allots to each the part he has to play; some are detailed to throw stones, others to guard the lanes and approaches, while the more experienced and courageous, under the 'peddadoo,' are told off to rush the house and sack it. Superfluous clothes are left behind at the rendezvous, faces are besmeared, if necessary, with ashes or lime, *dhotars* braced up, a *kāchha* or girdle tied round the waist, and a *kambal* or some coarse cloth tied over the shoulders and round the waist to carry stones. They arm themselves with *lithis*, stones, slings, and carry one or two torches. After nightfall when houses are still open, the gang proceeds to the village, attacks the house, belabours the occupants and decamps with the booty. Women are not, as a rule, ill-treated and the *mangal-sutra*, the Hindu married woman's insignia, and toe-rings are never touched. The dacoity over, the gang leaves the house and once outside the village, after the 'peddadoo' has satisfied himself that all are present, makes for the rendezvous where the clothes have been left. Here every member of the gang produces what he has secured and is carefully searched by the 'peddadoo.' Stolen property is given in charge of a trustworthy member or two with whom it remains till it is disposed of.

Pān-supāri bags and such other articles belonging to Lambānis and other castes are thrown at or near the scene of the crime to divert suspicion and mislead the police. Great violence is used if property is not immediately delivered or the hiding place of jewellery not shown. If resistance is offered

Waddars will go to any length in self defence and even commit murder.

As a rule only one house is attacked in a single expedition.

Highway Dacoity.

Scouts are posted on the highways near villages, at landing places, *dharamsālās*, etc., to look out for travellers or conveyances worth looting. The main body, which lies in wait in a *nāllah*, culvert, or some rough country affording concealment is thus apprized in good time of the approach of their quarry and in due course the gang rushes out of its hiding place and commences operations. Bullocks are unyoked, conveyances tipped up, passengers belaboured, valuables snatched away, boxes broken open and rifled and the booty carried off to some out-of-the-way spot in the near vicinity of the scene of attack. If successful the gang retreats to its encampment; but if the attempt fails or the booty secured is not sufficiently valuable, the gang shifts ground and tries its luck again.

Highway dacoities are generally committed before dusk and at daybreak and outside a radius of ten miles or so from the encampment.

Burglary.

Usually committed after midnight during the dark half of the month, either in the 'bagli' or 'rumālī' fashion with a knife for scraping out the mud between stones and the implement known in the Carnatic as *kangatti*, exhibit 40, Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate IV, or by means of a crowbar. The clumsy blunt marks of the latter instrument on a house indicate the workmanship of Waddars. The gang usually consists of from two to five persons. If unsuccessful at one house they will try their hands at others. Waddars are very dexterous and quick at making a hole in a wall and burglary is looked upon as a pleasurable diversion.

They will not, as a rule, confess or implicate one another.

Should the inmates of a burgled house remember to have heard a noise as of scraping which was put down at the time to rats or some other natural cause and an encampment of Waddars is known to be in vicinity, endeavours to seek the culprits among the Waddars should be made, as the noise may have been caused by the use of the knife to remove mud or plaster from between stones or bricks in the wall before bringing the more formidable implement into play.

When committing robberies Waddars are usually armed with stout sticks, slings, stones and knives and they often carry torches. Their implements of house-breaking are the *kangatti* or a crowbar.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

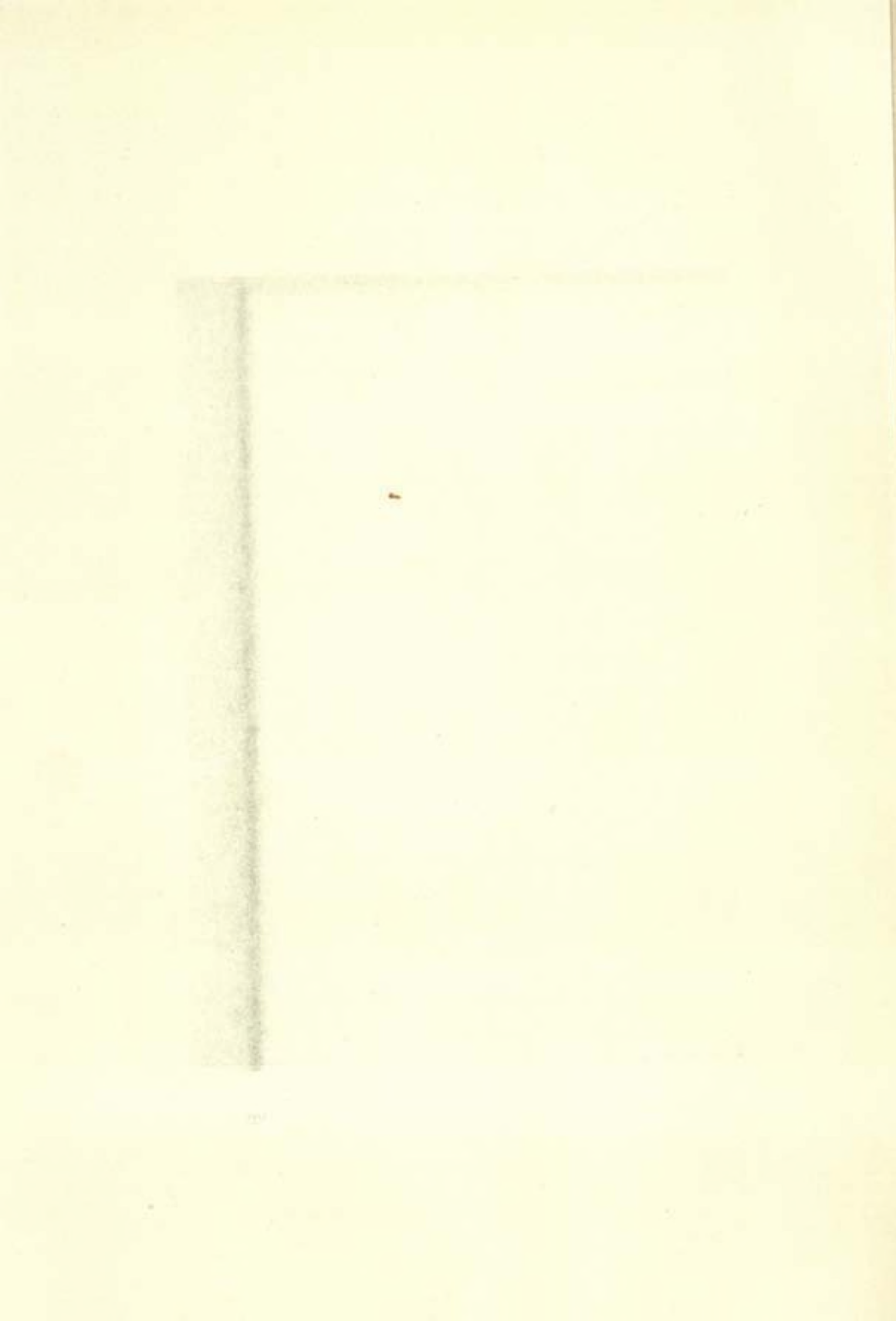
Stolen property is, as a rule, immediately after crime, deposited with a trusted member of the gang who usually buries it in a field, forest, or some such convenient spot in the vicinity of the encampment.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

Later, it is disposed of to friendly goldsmiths, *sāwārs*, villagers, or liquor-vendors.

Stolen jewellery is never distributed as such. It is turned into cash, the 'peddadoo' (leader) of the gang and the custodian of the property being entitled to larger shares than other members.

Stolen property is seldom recovered from the possession of Waddars.





A Dehliwal, Bauriah 'kamaoo' on the move.

FOREIGN TRIBES WHO VISIT THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Bowris or Bauriahs.

Of all the foreign criminals who frequent this Presidency, there is probably no class which surpasses the Bauriah in skill and pertinacity. Major Gunthorpe gives the Bauriah the cognomen of 'Badak' and states that the Vághris of Gujerat, also the Párdhis of the Deccan, are offshoots of this tribe. Certainly the dialects of these tribes, though living far apart, have much resemblance, so also tribal sub-divisions, some superstitions and customs.

The divisions of the class to be met with in this Presidency are :—

Dehliwál.

Málpura or Kerowli.

Khairwáda or Kerára.

Badak.

Márwáda Bowri (distinct from the Márwádi Bāori coiner described in a separate note).

In addition to the above there are the Panjábi and the Málwi or Moghia Bowri, but the former of these is believed not to frequent this Presidency at all.

The clan names of the various classes of Bowris are similar to those of Rajputs, the following being among the best known :—

Solanki.

Koli.

Dábi.

Chowan.

Wadhiarey.

Dhándal.

Parmár.

etc.

The Dehliwál Bowris hail from Muzaffarnagar, Málpuras from Bhopal, Khairwádas from Gwalior, Badaks from Bhopal and United Provinces, Márwádas from Márwár, Panjábis from the Panjáb and Moghias from Málwa.

There is no limit to the Bauriah's field of activity, Ceylon alone being immune from his excursions. The Moghia, so far as this Presidency is concerned, does not, it is believed, penetrate further than Gujerat and Khandesh.

The Bauriah plies his calling in village, town or city in all parts of the Presidency with equal impartiality, small villages at which he halts alone being exempt for the time being.

During the monsoon season the Bauriah remains more or less inactive. He either returns to his home up-country before the monsoon breaks, or takes shelter in or near some Native State or lies low at some place where he has reason to feel secure from inconvenient enquiries. With the cessation of the rains the class begins wandering again and expeditions are planned and embarked on.

To commit a lucrative burglary Bowris will travel as much as forty miles in the twenty-four hours. When exploiting the country, Bowris travel in gangs of varying strength but usually do not exceed ten. In large cities and at important centres these gangs concentrate and, till suspicion is roused by their numbers and movements, work together.

Every gang is headed by a leader styled by Dehliwáls and Márwádas 'kamáoo'; by Málpuras 'kádoos'; by Badaks 'upkáre,' and 'jamadár' by Moghias. Among Dehliwáls and Málpuras the gang consists of a 'kamáoo,' or 'kádoos,' 'pitwáris' (the rank and file of the gang who commit thefts), 'bhandári' (cook) and 'kothári' (one who does odd jobs such as washing pots, clothes, etc.)

Badak, Márwáda, and Khairwáda gangs are usually accompanied by families; Dehliwáls only occasionally; Málpuras and Moghias never. For the transport of their families Badaks use ponies, donkeys, buffaloes or cows; Khairwádas bullocks only; Márwádas and Dehliwáls ponies. Moghia gangs are sometimes in possession of a camel or two.

With the exception of Khairwáda and Márwáda Bauriahs who, as a rule, boldly put up inside towns and villages in temples, *dharamsálās* or *serais*, Bauriahs of all divisions prefer to lurk in the outskirts or environs, either in the open in or near some garden or *tope* of trees in the vicinity of water, or, in some secluded temple, *math* or other convenient resting place.

During the rains Dehliwáls if accompanied by their families sometimes pitch páls; Badaks invariably live in páls all the year round.

No statistics are available in respect to the Bauriah population in the Bombay Presidency.

The Moghia is in appearance and dress very similar to the ordinary cultivator of Central India. To an inhabitant of this Presidency he would most resemble the Banjára of Khandesh or the Labhána of the Panch Mahals.

For the rest Bauriahs as a class are strong, well built, and of medium stature, with coarse features. Their complexion varies between sallow and dark. They are active, keen of sense and inured to hardships and fatigue. The female Bowrin is generally sallow or wheat-coloured and often not without claims to good-looks. Their morals are not above suspicion, though it is unusual for them to misconduct themselves with men outside their own caste. The women do not actually participate in crime, but are always well informed and assist in the disposal of the property and in procuring legal and other assistance when their husbands are in trouble.

Khairwáda women are cleaner, better dressed and more refined looking than the females of the other divisions. Badaks are said to have one, two or three scars or burns on the inside of their left wrists,—the statement has not however been verified.

As the Bauriahs (Moghias excepted) met with in this Presidency are generally if not always in disguise, a description of their customary home attire is not of much practical use, but one or two peculiarities may be instructive. The Bauriah will never wear *dhoti* and *langoti* together. As a rule he wears a *dhoti* ten cubits in length or an *angocha* (a short *dhotar*) measuring six cubits. Both are tied in a peculiar fashion, the former displaying more of the right thigh, the latter of the left. For the rest he wears a *kurta* or shirt and a large *feita* or head-scarf tied in the up-country fashion. Márwáda Bauriahs sometimes wear the Rajput *kada* on the right ankle. Badaks, though similar in their dress to other branches of the Bauriah class, are in appearance, dress and habits the dirtiest and most untidy of all. Bauriah women in their home up-country wear petticoat or *ghāgra*, *odni* or head-scarf and *kanchli* or bodice fastened at the back, or

sutna (trousers) instead of a skirt, with a *mirjai* or coat over the bodice and ornaments of the up-country fashion. Down-country a coarse *sāri* takes the place of petticoat or trousers.

Tattooing among females is largely indulged in, most of them having a dot or two or some lines at the corners of the eyes, at the side of the nose, below the lower lip, as well as on the knuckles, wrists and arms.

Moghias, both men and women, closely resemble in dress and appearance Márwār Rajputs, though perhaps they are not so clean or well dressed.

At home Bauriahs cook their food in earthen vessels, but abroad, as they travel in the guise of Sádhus, they adopt, Badaks perhaps excepted, the customs in vogue among Sádhus, and as a rule use metal utensils, unless accompanied by families, when earthen cooking pots are used. They eat all flesh except that of the cow and are addicted to drink. They smoke tobacco and *gānja* and some eat opium. They generally live well. Experience in this Presidency goes to show that the old superstitious prejudices among some classes of the Dehliwāl Bauriahs against touching iron, wearing red and blue cloth and eating vermicelli, cocoanut and so on, no longer exist. With the exception of the lowest of the depressed classes, Bauriahs admit all castes into their own, and instances are not wanting of individuals of good social position having become Bauriahs, usually as the outcome of a love affair with some attractive Bauriah woman.

A successful raid is followed by feasting, drinking and merry-making.

The Bauriah dialect is a mixture of corrupt Hindi and Gujarati, with the peculiarity that 's' is pronounced as 'kh.' It is sufficiently hybrid to prevent the uninitiated understanding it; being copiously interlarded with slang expressions, it affords the class a means of inter-communication with secrecy in the presence of strangers. With slight variations it is in use among all divisions of Bauriahs.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Defying grammar they make '*khābagādi khāchi vāt ko kahio mā*' out of '*sāheb ke āge sach bāt mat bolo*' (do not tell the truth before sāheb). Spoken with a sing-song twang peculiar to the Bauriah, the language may well be termed a thieves' jargon.

They can speak Hindustáni fluently; Moghias can also speak the Málwi language.

The following are some of the slang words and expressions

Slang and signs used. commonly used among Bauriahs :—

By Dehliwáls, Khairwádas and Málpurás.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-------------------------|---|
| datoni or netri | ... knife. |
| pida | ... gold. |
| dhowli | ... silver. |
| nakoni | ... nose-ring. |
| bháji | ... meat. |
| kaládi | ... liquor. |
| dādo | ... road. |
| gomti | ... night. |
| bhogi | ... property, loot. |
| gyán or gyándas | ... implement for house-breaking. |
| terwa or tarkada | ... sepoy. |
| mándlon | ... a gang. |
| phodi gero | ... |
| todi gero | ... } break it up. |
| chagdi gero | ... |
| gáli gero | ... melt it down. |
| goddo marto ávié | ... obliterate the foot-prints. |
| terwa thai awe se ek ek | ... a sepoy is coming, disperse and run away. |
| ghákh khai jao. | ... |
| hette kari gero | ... put it underneath or bury. |
| kamáoo, kadoo | ... leader of the gang. |
| koldákh | ... be on the alert. |
| bálka | ... hieroglyphics. |
| ásan | ... halting place. |
| ujhánto | ... snatch ornaments (from the persons of sleeping females) |
| took | ... bread. |
| jamno | ... right. |
| dáwo | ... left. |

By Badaks.

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| mánkho or mánkhiya | ... man. |
| mánkhi | ... woman. |
| rokhlo | ... bread. |
| dhorí | ... silver. |
| netri | ... knife. |
| bawan | ... kinswoman. |
| káli bhor | ... sepoy. |
| mota modno ávi gayo | ... an officer has come. |
| khobar thai gai | ... a clue has been obtained. |
| khati jao | ... hide yourself. |
| ramai do | ... make away with it. |

By Badaks—contd.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ya mai kachu nahi jharka- riyo | I cannot find the property. |
| ek jane ale lido | a man has been arrested. |
| mane jhal lido | they have arrested me. |
| gyán or gyándas | the jemmy of the Badak. |
| hiro chudave le | let us rescue him. |
| upar pada | dacoity. |
| khói ja | go to sleep. |
| gyán ko thai nai | the jemmy has not gone through |
| khánkro or charandási | pair of shoes. |
| patakri | gun. |
| terwa | chowkidár. |
| londriya pokhi raho | a dog is barking. |
| talaro or khapakni | sword. |
| pilo | gold. |

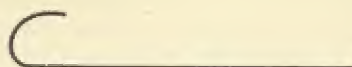
By some other divisions.

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| bhindia or bhindo | man. |
| bhindi | woman. |
| kajli | theft. |
| santo | burglary. |
| daulatia | the jemmy of the Baori. |
| tanai liya | he was arrested. |
| bajhad lo | rescue him. |
| nahi hadlo | run away. |
| hara | dacoity. |
| nakhalya or gangáram | pair of shoes |
| bhutkani | rifle. |
| nokia | chowkidár. |
| bajtaido | hide the article. |
| naiteri | sword. |
| rámráj | gold. |
| bawan | kinswoman. |
| bakti | knife. |
| káli bhor | sepoy. |
| khaura or bajniya (kaldár) | rupee. |
| dabuwa | double paisa. |

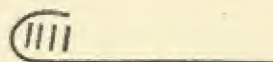
Dehliwál and Málpura Bauriahs have an interesting system of hieroglyphics or cabalistic signs which they make in charcoal as a rule, on the walls of houses, *dharamsálás*, temples, at important corners, ferries, bridges or cross-roads, and on the ground by the roadside with a stick, if no building is handy, as a means of inter-communication between gangs and with one another.

It is not known what other sub-divisions or how many of the Bauriahs are initiated into the mysteries of these symbols

or whether different gangs have different signs, but the following are known to be in use. The commonest is a loop, thus —



the straight end indicating the direction a gang or individual has taken. The addition of a number of vertical strokes signifies the number of males in the gang, thus —



When the strokes representing the strength of a gang are enclosed by a circle, thus —



it means that a gang is encamped in the vicinity, intends to return and all is well.

A square surrounded by a circle to which a line is joined, thus —



means to those in the know, that property has been secured by friends who have left in the direction pointed by the line. (The square is intended to represent a box.)

It is said that Bauriahs follow up one another for fifty or even a hundred miles with the help of these hieroglyphics. The signs are bold marks sometimes even a foot or more in length and are made where they will at once catch the eye.

In their country Bauriahs, with perhaps the exception of Badaks, support themselves it is said, by field labour, cultivation and selling fuel, grass etc., and many it is understood are law-abiding and prosperous. Among some of the classes men are also employed as village watchmen and trackers.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

Badaks however, as a class, appear to follow no honest pursuit for a livelihood anywhere, though in Málwa and the United Provinces it is believed some live by grass-cutting and cultivation on a small scale.

In this Presidency the Bauriahs' (Khairwádas and Moghias excepted) ostensible means of livelihood is begging. Khairwádas and a few Málpuras and Dehliwáls also hawk scented oil, mixtures and pills to which are ascribed potent properties.

Moghias met with in this Presidency have no ostensible means of livelihood. They do not come to stay but on some specific criminal expedition and are therefore well provided with funds.

Dehliwál, Málpura, Badak and Mār wáda Bauriahs in this Presidency are generally, if not always, disguised as Bairágis or Gosávis (those with women and children as the latter), in whose prayers, religious habits, ceremonials and incantations some are very expert. All are, however, very clever in their get-up; mark their foreheads with ashes or *gopichandan*, wear *tulsi* or *rudráksha málá* (string of beads) round the neck, and carry about the usual paraphernalia of the real Sádhu including *chimta* (tongs) and begging bowl (*kamandal*). Generally two or three in a gang read and drone out long pieces from *Tulsi Krit Rámáyana*, and other religious books. At this Málpuras are particularly good. Some shave their heads, others allow their hair to grow, and affix 'dás' (if posing as Bairágis) or 'gír' (if as Gosávis) to their names. They invariably have two names, one given by their parents and the other by their *guru*. Most Dehliwáls, Málpuras and Mār wádas have the Dwárka or Ajodhia *chhāps* or the brands of the religious visitor to these shrines, on the upper arm.

Bauriahs are such adepts at the Sádhus' disguise that ordinary people are rarely able to penetrate them and even Sádhus themselves are taken in. It is only by the Bauriahs' style of living, what he eats and drinks and by his manners generally that he can be distinguished from the *bona fide* Sádhu who in these respects differs totally from the spurious article. They sometimes give themselves away by incorrect marks or *tilaks* on their foreheads, a mistake in the knot of the sacred thread, or in some other small but essential detail in the disguise.

Bauriahs cook and eat together and indulge in intoxicating drinks, consume flesh openly and as explained above, with the exception of Khairwādas and Mār wādas, always live outside villages and towns. Real Sādhus, whose role they adopt, differ in these respects as under.

Both Gosāvis and Bairāgis put up in villages and though the former cook and eat meat they will not do so in company nor openly, nor will they drink liquor. Real Bairāgis of course do not touch flesh or liquor at all. True Sādhus, if forced by circumstances to cook on a road, as they sometimes are when on a pilgrimage, will each cook and eat his own meal separately.

Moreover, parties of true Sādhus are usually made up of individuals from different parts of the country with different dialects and more or less showing some difference in cast of countenance etc. The individuals constituting Bauriah gangs disguised as Sādhus have a general uniform appearance, dialect, manners and customs which to the practised eye should excite suspicion and betray them. There is however reason to believe that Bauriahs have to some extent in recent years changed their tactics in respect to adopting the disguise of a Sādhu in his brick-coloured garments owing to the fact that this disguise is more or less a matter of common knowledge.

Mār wādas besides posing as Sādhus also pretend to be up-country Brāhmins, Sanjogi Bairāgis, and accept, both men and women, employment as water carriers and domestic servants in respectable houses. In this way they will live for months and even years in a town, meeting and committing crime in company at night and following their ostensible avocation during the day. Sometimes they are to be met with carrying across their shoulders 'kāvads' supposed to contain 'Ganga-jal' or the sacred water of the Ganges. This device not only disarms suspicion but gains them access to respectable well-to-do households.

The Badak's favourite disguise is perhaps that of a Rāmanandi Bairāgi.

Moghias are believed to pass themselves off as Banjāras, but no instances of this kind have been reported in this Presidency.

One means of identifying Bauriahs may possibly be found in the typical family *dev* carried about by these people when wandering with their families. It consists of some

grains of wheat and the seeds of a creeper known as 'ma-markhi' greased over with *ghi*, enclosed in a brass or copper *dabbi* (receptacle), a peacock feather, and bell, all wrapped up in a pair of sheets of white cloth each measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 cubits, the outer of which bears the imprint of a hand dipped in goat's blood. The whole is again rolled up in two pieces of red cloth (*khârwa*) of the same dimensions as the white and tied in a bundle. This *dev* is hung on a wall, if the party is putting up in a building, or is used as a pillow by a Bauriah male if encamped in the open. At home the *dev* is suspended from the ceiling of a room. Being an object of veneration great care is taken that it may not be contaminated. None but a male Bauriah or a high caste Hindu may touch the *dev*. Badaks, Mār wādas, Khairwādas and Moghias include small jingling balls or bells in the bundle and call the whole *devi*, probably because of the fact that they are worshippers of *devi*, especially 'Kālka Devi.'

Bauriahs change their names frequently. When moving in gangs the leaders pose as *gurus* and the rest as *chelas*.

Their halting place is called by them *ūsan*.

In this Presidency, the Dehliwāl, Mālpura and Khairwāda Bowris' only forms of crime are house-breaking and theft by night, which when aggravated by violence develop into robbery or dacoity, as the case may be, and sheep-lifting by night. They do not commit crime during the day. Badaks are addicted to thefts of all kinds, whether by day or night, house-breaking, cattle-lifting and crop-stealing. Badaks, women and children included, are also addicted to pilfering but are not experts in the sense the Bhāmpṭas are. Sometimes they will indulge in highway robbery though not of a serious kind.

Moghias are burglars, dacoits, highwaymen, cattle-lifters and crop-raiders.

Mār wādas are given to house-breaking, highway robbery and dacoity, cattle-lifting and cheating.

But house-breaking and theft by night is the speciality of all Bauriahs frequenting this Presidency.

Dehliwāls are also expert tent thieves.

According to the Bengal Police Code, Vol. I of 1897, Panjābi Bowris "call themselves 'khaswāllas' or diggers of *khas-khas*. Their women frequent fairs and gatherings, where they pick pockets and steal ornaments from children.

They take service with ladies and even go to live with rich men as their mistresses, in order afterwards to give information as to where valuables may be found. They are very expert in concealing money and small articles about their persons, and even swallow them. They actively resist the police when an attempt is made to search a village or camp. They thieve in disguises and are forgers and counterfeiters of coin."

Solitary Bauriahs of the Málpura, Márwáda and Badak divisions are believed sometimes to indulge in administering stupefying drugs to railway travellers.

Bauriahs set out from their homes or from their monsoon quarters, towards the end of the rains or in the month of 'Kártik,' on what is known as 'rámath,' in other words their criminal expeditions, and usually in the month of 'Ashád' return home or lie low somewhere.

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

The gangs (*mándlas* or *girohs*) are formed by the 'jamadár,' 'kádoor,' 'upkare' or 'kamáoor,' as the case may be. Their ostensible places of pilgrimage are (1) Jagan-nathji on the east coast, (2) Trimbakji in the Násik District, (3) Dwárka in Kathiawad, (4) Rámeshwar in Madras, (5) Gangáji (Hardwar), (6) Prayág or Allahabad, (7) Ajodhia near Fyzábád, (8) Káshi or Benares, and (9) Onkárji near Indore; but crime is their sole object and by their success or otherwise in this respect their movements are regulated.

While ostensibly on their way to one or other of these religious resorts, they put up in the outskirts of towns and villages and by means of their disguise obtain an intimate knowledge of suitable dwellings to be burgled. They do not obtain information from strangers or admit any into their confidence; the leader or some clever member ('pitwádi') of the gang reconnoitres the town or village and acquaints himself with all necessary details regarding the house to be burgled and the locality. The bright half of the month is spent in roaming about examining the exterior of houses and prospecting; the dark half in executing.

Bauriahs intuitively possess and by long practice have developed to an extraordinary degree, the power of estimating whether or not a dwelling is worth exploiting and whether a midnight venture is likely to prove a successful undertaking.

Their method of obtaining information is as follows:—A gang having encamped at a village during moonlight nights, the 'kamáoor' and one or two of the more accomplished

'pitwādis,' or the 'kamāoo' alone, start off singly in different directions to prospect towns and neighbouring villages. They will beg from door to door, make mental notes of premises, approaches, nature of the building and apparent affluence or otherwise of the occupants. Khairwādas do not operate in small villages. They work in large towns and by house-to-house visitation under the pretext of selling medicines and oils, acquaint themselves with all necessary information about promising dwellings.

The women of the house naturally attend to them and while accepting alms from them the Bauriah takes particular stock of the jewellery they are wearing.

Having thus marked down suitable houses, the gang moves on a few miles and encamps again and prospects the neighbourhood in a similar manner, and so on till the dark nights arrive, taking care not to get too far away from villages where promising houses have been noted. During the three or four darkest nights of the month is the time for action with Bauriahs. They then go back on their tracks and burgle one or more of the houses marked down in the manner described above. The number of houses burgled depends on the success or otherwise of the operations.

A large haul in the first house may lead to the postponement or abandonment of attempts on others. In a large town a gang will call a halt for three, four or even six months, prospect during the bright half of the month and operate during the dark nights and so on till they are discovered by the police or they have obtained their fill in the shape of 'loot.' But whether in city, town or village, Bauriahs will never attack any house unless it is so situated as to afford reasonable facilities for approach unobserved and speedy retreat after the commission of the burglary. Houses surrounded by narrow lanes and roads which could be blocked in case of alarm and in which the culprits could be entrapped are studiously avoided.

The above describes the methods of Dehliwāls, Mālpuras, Badaks and Khairwādas.

A filthy habit indulged in by some criminals, local and foreign, is that of defecating on the floor in one of the rooms of a house burgled before leaving. The act is supposed to safeguard the culprits against detection and is ascribed commonly to Badaks, Chunvālia Kolis, Waddars, Pāsis from

Hindustán and Márwar Naiks, though it is doubtful whether it is characteristic of any particular tribe or class.

The methods of Márwádas who travel and live in the disguise of Sádhus, in respect to obtaining information and committing crime, do not vary from those of Khairwádas; but as regards Márwádas who travel with their families, pass themselves off as Bráhmíns and accept domestic service, they take advantage of the opportunities afforded to them by the particular occupation they take up for prospecting, arranging clandestine meetings and executing their designs.

A Moghia burglary in this Presidency is generally the work of some gang invited from a distance by one individual who has previously marked the house while living in some town or city as a Bráhmín, Rajput or Kháki Sádhu (one who covers the body with ashes, wears a *langotí* and warms himself over a fire).

For breaking into a house, the instrument used is called a *gyán* or by Moghias a *daulatia*. The Bauriah's favourite method is by the 'bagli' entrance already described in the preceding notes. A knife, sometimes an ordinary table knife sharpened to a point and put into a wooden or leather sheath, is also carried by the leader for purposes of defence as a last resource and for cutting into tents. The 'pitwádis' carry sticks. Moghias, it is said, sometimes carry a razor in lieu of the knife. A small strip of cloth waxed and rolled into a taper or the flare of a match supplies the necessary light. If perchance the Bauriah fails to effect an entrance by the 'bagli,' he sometimes but rarely resorts to the 'rumáli' method and makes a hole in the wall of the house large enough to crawl in through. This hole is covered by a confederate with a cloth to keep out light and cold draught, which might disturb the sleep of those inside, and to screen from observation from the road any light used in the room. The favourite alternative to the 'bagli' entrance is breaking in through a barred window, the bars being quickly and forcibly bent and drawn out. The leader alone enters the house, lights his taper and from the door-way, window or hole by which he has entered, takes stock generally of the contents of the room. Having made a mental note of where people are lying asleep and where boxes are standing, he puts out his taper, crawls forward slowly and silently and satisfies himself by listening to the breathing of each person sleeping in the room as to the soundness of their sleep. He then proceeds to secure all he can lay hands

on and transfers it to his 'pitwādis' outside. He will take anything and everything, even sweetmeats, *ghi* and the like, but cooked food and grain he will not lift. Boxes are not opened in the house; they are removed intact to be broken open outside. Jewellery is skilfully and quickly removed from the recumbent bodies of persons asleep. If disturbed or challenged, the intruder snatches what he can from the inmates and beats a hasty retreat. As a rule injury is not done to persons inside the house except when in straits and to effect escape, when those outside will speedily come to the rescue of their leader. In a tight corner Bauriahs will go to any length in self defence and will not hesitate to use the knife with deadly effect. While the leader is at work inside, the 'pitwādis' are distributed outside; and while some have their attention fixed on assisting their leader, others keep a sharp look-out against interruption from outside, the danger signal being a sound emitted from the mouth similar to the cry of a hare when caught.

Before advancing into an inner room and out of view of his 'pitwādis,' the 'kamāoo' or 'kādoō' first of all acquaints the former of his intention; this in order that they may be ready to come to his assistance if need be. He then goes forward, lights his taper again at the door of the inner room, takes stock of it, extinguishes the light, tests the breathing of any one asleep in the room, secures what he can lay hands on and passes it out.

Major Gunthorpe, in his "Notes on Criminal Tribes" published in the year 1882, mentions a practice among Bauriahs of throwing forward, when a light is not used, seeds or grains to locate the position of brass or copper pots and boxes. Enquiries instituted in this Presidency do not, however, bear this out, at any rate in respect to Dehliwāls, Mālpuras and Khairwādas, and there are grounds for the belief that the practice is now out of date among all criminals. It no doubt prevailed in former times when the burglar's outfit contained nothing better than a flint and steel to provide light. But with the facilities that now exist for obtaining cheap silent matches, the need for a substitute for a light has ceased to exist and the somewhat risky practice of throwing forward seeds seems to have fallen into disuse. It is a fact though that all Bauriahs carry about among their belongings a few grains of wheat and *jawari* and *mamarkhi* seeds (resembling in appearance very small soap-nuts) tied in small bits of rag or kept in small

receptacles, which are used in consulting omens before proceeding on a venture and in determining what particular individuals shall take part in it; also, that among Málpuras, should one of the gang be a self-constituted 'Jotishi' or supposed to be familiar with *mantras* or charms, he will cast a white *goonj* (seed) on the house before breaking into it to ensure that the venture shall not be interrupted.

Márwādas by reason of the fact that they live in disguise in cities and towns, are not particular as to how they effect entrance into a house that they have decided on breaking into. They will break through wall or roof, as circumstances permit or are favourable. The Dehliwál and Málpura Bauriah has to do his work expeditiously as time is of importance to him; the Bauriah who does not live apart from the general public is on the spot, so to speak, has better opportunities for laying his plans and more of the night at his disposal for the actual commission of the crime.

Tent thieving appears to have been the Dehliwál Bauriah's hereditary speciality and even now he prides himself on being an adept in eluding sentries and gaining entrance to tents.

Sheep lifting by Bauriahs has no characteristic features. The methods of other criminals, as described in the note on Rámoshis for instance, are followed.

With respect to other forms of crime mentioned under the preceding heading, experience in this Presidency does not furnish sufficient data from which any instructive information can be compiled. It is as a notorious and inveterate burglar that the Bauriah deserves special attention and stands out conspicuously among foreign criminals frequenting this Presidency.

Among Dehliwáls and Málpura gangs not hampered with families, should inconvenient enquiries be anticipated, absentees from the halting place are represented at night by sheets spread over stones or bundles to look like sleeping forms. Enquiry by any officious police or village officer who may have noticed the gang during the day, is met by the two or three Bauriahs who have been left at the encampment explaining that they are awake and that their companions (pointing to the dummies) are asleep. This little artifice should be remembered by the police on their rounds when looking up suspicious gangs of mendicants.

Bauriahs under arrest should be very carefully guarded, particularly when being escorted from one station to another. Instances are not wanting in which Bauriahs have assaulted the police and escaped from custody even with the handcuffs on.

As a rule Bauriahs do not associate with other castes in the commission of crime.

A few hints as to how to act when a Bauriah gang is traced may be found useful. When a person suspected of being a Bauriah is found loitering about or begging in the streets, it is inadvisable to challenge or interrogate him there and then; he should be quietly followed to his encampment. A Bauriah on being questioned never admits his identity or that he forms one of a gang. Evidence of his tribe and criminality, such as the *gyān* and other characteristic articles described above, are ordinarily to be found in his encampment. On a Bauriah encampment being discovered, it is desirable to surround and search it in the early morning, as then all members are likely to be found at home and traces of any crime they may have committed over-night will be fresh. Each member of the gang should be examined separately. When thus taken unawares their stories will probably be found to contain important discrepancies. On some pretext or other individuals will try to move about and if permitted to do so and at the same time carefully watched, may possibly be discovered, burying a knife and moving bedding over the spot, or throwing some implicating article into bushes or over walls. There is no limit to their cunning and the search of an encampment proceeds under volleys of abuse and loud protestations at the *zulum* which the 'Sarkār' is committing.

If the gang finds the game is up, that their identity is discovered and their methods known, they are quick to adopt another strain. "Yes, certainly, they are Bauriahs if the Sarkār says so, but there are Bauriahs and Bauriahs. Did God make all five fingers the same length?" They then are at pains to prove that they are a peaceful, law-abiding gang of Rājputs, ("all right, saheb, call us Bauriahs") and that really and truly they are proceeding on a pilgrimage. One such gang invaded this Presidency and when nothing else was of avail produced ancient certificates given to some absent relatives of theirs and explained how they had helped and were helping

the Government by hunting down fugitive Bauriahs and handing them over to the police; unfortunately for them it came to light that they used these certificates purely for purposes of blackmail from other gangs of their tribe.

If the gang is searched while on the move it may probably be found in possession of stolen property and other characteristic belongings mentioned above.

At their halting place the *gyán*, if in appearance not calculated to arouse suspicion, is kept by the 'bhandári' along with other cooking utensils; if an unmistakable jemmy, it is buried at some distance from the halting place if the stay is to be prolonged, otherwise under the bedding in the lining of a saddle or somewhere else in the encampment if the halt is but for a few hours. In respect to the obvious jemmy, so uneasy are they lest it should be found on them, that their first care, even if they squat on the road for a few minutes to have a smoke, is to bury it.

If the marks of the instrument used for making the hole in the wall are small and such as might be caused by the handle of a *palli* (ladle), a fair presumption to draw is that the breach in the wall is the handiwork of a Dehliwál or Málpura Bauriah with his *gyán*, and if coupled with this the culprits, if disturbed, have been heard to make use of a dialect similar to that described as the Bauriah's, the crime may safely be put down to this criminal class.

One of the first, perhaps the very first, recorded case of Bauriahs discovered at work in this Presidency came to light in the year 1887 in the Bijapur District and as a brief account of the case may prove interesting, some instructive details from a report on the case submitted by the District Superintendent of Police, Bijapur, at the time, are reproduced. The case is typical of Bauriah methods, illustrates how successfully they are able to assume disguise and the ramifications of their widespread organization.

In the beginning of September 1887 from certain information of a vague description, received by a policeman from a low caste inhabitant of Bijapur, suspicion was aroused against certain Gosávis who lived in the Taj Bowdi that they were concerned in the serious house-breaking cases that mysteriously took place when the dark nights came round, and that these men were connected with all the cases that had been taking place, more or less regularly, during the past three years. On receipt of this information, which was conveyed to the

Superintendent of Police, it was thought advisable to institute a watch, by means of detectives, on the movements and general behaviour of these Gosávis, who subsequently proved to be Bowris from Bhopal, though this was not at the time suspected. A close watch kept on the movements of the few Gosávis who lived in the Taj Bowdi *math* disclosed the following suspicious circumstances regarding them :—

(a) their manners and customs and daily avocations were not those of the ordinary travelling Gosávis ;

(b) that they lived in a style, *i. e.*, ate and drank, quite beyond their apparent means, and lived far more extravagantly than their ostensible means of subsistence justified ;

(c) that they maintained a very exclusive attitude towards strangers visiting the *math* ;

(d) that they disappeared and returned in small parties and that they were joined by others, apparently Gosávis, with whom they seemed to have a previous acquaintance ;

(e) that some members travelled between Bijapur and two villages, Shivangi and Hernál, distant respectively eighteen and thirty miles, where they seemed to have intimate acquaintances and houses.

After a careful watch had been maintained for some fifteen or twenty days over the villages of Shivangi and Hernál and the *math* at the Taj Bowdi in Bijapur, beyond the above suspicious circumstances, nothing which would directly incriminate these Gosávis or connect them with the house-breaking cases that had occurred and were occurring in Bijapur, could be discovered and therefore the Dassara festival falling on the 26th September, this opportunity was seized by the police for bringing matters to a crisis by suddenly pouncing down on the villages of Hernál and Shivangi, surrounding them at night and searching for stolen property, house-breaking implements and so on. Accordingly on the 26th September a body of police was deputed to make a forced march to these villages and carry out the searches. There were then no Gosávis in the Taj Bowdi *math*, except the officiating priest, also a Gosávi. The villages were surrounded on the night of the 26th and a search made of them, but no Gosávis were discovered there. In Shivangi, however, a quantity of property suspected to be stolen was discovered and in Hernál, in the *pátíl's* house, an ornament valued at Rs. 400 was confiscated

and subsequently identified as being property stolen in a Bijapur case. This *pātil* was reported to be in league with the Gosávis and was subsequently prosecuted for receiving stolen property, committed to the sessions and there discharged. These were the somewhat unsatisfactory results of the raid made.

Subsequently information was collected regarding the movements of the Gosávis and it was ascertained that such men were in the habit of visiting villages in small gangs of threes and fours, and two Gosávis who gave valuable information were discovered.

These two men named Mooligirri and Koomangirri amply confirmed the suspicions that had been aroused regarding the criminal propensities of the Taj Bowdi Gosávis, but, though they could have done so, they did not at the time state their true caste. On the information received from Mooligirri and Koomangirri of Shivangi, six Gosávis were taken into custody and property valued at various amounts was recovered which was identified as property stolen in house-breaking cases of Bijapur in 1887 and previous years, and in one case of the Belgaum District. Further, a complete list of a gang of thirty-eight men was obtained from one of the informants, though subsequent enquiries made in Bhopal, by the Inspector sent up there for the purpose, disclosed the fact that the gang was even larger, five or six individuals whom this informant had not mentioned having been fully identified in Bhopal as belonging to the Bijapur gang and in consequence arrested. The informant further declared that the Gosávis were Bowris from Bhopal; that they gained their livelihood by committing crime; that they had committed a large number of house-breaking cases in Bijapur; that one who had been arrested, *viz.*, Baldeodás, was the spiritual leader of the gang and that there was also a 'jamadár' or executive leader. On enquiry as to the whereabouts of the rest of the gang, he stated that the 'jamadár' and fifteen men had gone to Athni in the Belgaum District on a marauding expedition and that fifteen others had gone into the Dharwar District for the same purpose. Some clothes belonging to the 'jamadár' were found in the Taj Bowdi *math* and also a house-breaking implement answering to the description of the implement used by Bowris, given in Gunthorpe's "Notes on Criminal Tribes."

On the 10th November 1887 the six Gosávis who had already been arrested were convicted in connection with three house-breaking and theft cases and sentenced to various terms ranging from two to four years' rigorous imprisonment, one being also

convicted and given four months for escaping from the custody of the police while being brought in from Shivangi to Bijapur.

It was also ascertained that another of the gang had already been convicted of house-breaking and theft in Bagalkot, though at the time it was not known he was a Bowri and belonged to this gang. In this manner seven men out of the thirty-eight whose names were known were accounted for and the first stage of the case completed.

It will perhaps be a convenient place here to give briefly the Bijapur history of Baldeodás bin Bhoopálsing *alias* Bhopda, the spiritual leader of the so-called Gosávis and officiating priest of the Taj Bowdi *math*. He came to Bijapur about four years before the incidents being described, put up in the Taj Bowdi *math*, the priest and the *ināmdār* of which was a man named Durgáprasád Baldeodás, became his disciple and so ingratiated himself with Durgáprasád, that on the decease of the latter, Baldeodás became Durgáprasád's heir and inherited the position of officiating priest of the *math*. In the character of spiritual heir to the deceased *guru* he even induced the Collector to interest himself in a case of an alleged wrong done to the temple property. As priest of the *math* he was much venerated by the inhabitants of Bijapur and was regarded as a highly religious, holy and respectable man. He had the entrée into the households of the principal influential and wealthy inhabitants of Bijapur, officials and non-officials, and generally impressed all with his sanctity and respectability to such an extent that suspicion of dishonesty never occurred to any one and yet he was nothing but a Málpura Bauriah in disguise. As officiating priest of the *math*, a large place with underground rooms, very *pucca* built and surrounded by garden land, he had every facility for collecting and harbouring Bowris, his caste-fellows, and generally directing their operations. But for his position and influence it would have been impossible for the gang to have made a depot as it were of the *math*.

On the termination of the case against the seven Bowris referred to above, wide search was instituted by the police for the two sub-gangs, each fifteen strong, which had gone into the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts, but proved abortive. It was found quite impossible to trace the spurious Gosávis among the large number of genuine *bāwás* who wander over the country begging. The police had several wild goose chases

to Kolhapur, Pandharpur, Sholapur, Gadag and other places, so the only hope of ever finding the missing Bowris, who no doubt had heard of the capture of their leader and companions in Bijapur, seemed to be to send an experienced officer to Bhopal with detectives to arrest them on return home. It seemed probable they would make for Bhopal sooner or later, trusting to the great distance preventing or spoiling pursuit. Accordingly a Police Inspector was sent with detectives and an informant who could identify the Bowris, to Bhopal. Just previous to the Inspector's departure letters received through the post to the address of Baldeodás, the leader, were intercepted. From the post marks on the envelopes it was clear the letters had been posted in Poona, Satara and Khandesh. A copy of one is attached and speaks for itself. On arrival at Bhopal the Inspector found a large number of Bowris in arrest on suspicion of having committed a serious dacoity with murder in the Bhopal State. Seventeen of these proving to be members of the Bijapur gang and being identified were arrested formally by the Inspector and after a great deal of correspondence between the Superintendent of Police, Bijapur, and the Political authorities, were transferred to the Bijapur District for trial. The 'jamadár' and executive leader of the gang, Akhersing *alias* Chetandás, was not one of the seventeen men arrested, he was however traced to Saugor, a neighbouring British district, where he was found in custody on a charge of recent house-breaking and theft. All the eighteen, suspecting a hue-and-cry would be raised, must have absconded to Bhopal immediately their companions were arrested in Bijapur and apparently had been concerned in crime in the former place since their return.

The Police Inspector reported that the Bowri population in Bhopal then numbered approximately 5,000 souls; that they had no ostensible means of livelihood; that during the month and a quarter he was in Bhopal territory, with the exception of some 100 or 150 males, there were no able-bodied men, only women, children and old men and cripples, in the villages. All the able-bodied Bowris were away. He was able to trace and identify only 18 men, so apparently the remainder had either not returned to their villages or had managed to elude the authorities.

Further enquiries made by the Bijapur police disclosed the facts that several Bowris had wandered from their native country many years before, intermarried with women of the

district and settled down. They had built *chappar* houses and acquired a little property in the villages of Shivangi and Hernál. What their antecedents may have been was not known but at any rate they had not hitherto made themselves conspicuous, nothing was reported against them and their true caste had not then been discovered. They did not go about in disguise but lived as ordinary inhabitants of the two villages. It was only in consequence of the discovery of the Bijapur gang of Bowris that it was ascertained these settlers were also Bowris. Their numbers were roughly estimated at about a hundred souls and they left the villages of Shivangi and Hernál as soon as the true Bowris were arrested, decamping into Moglai territory. To proceed with the account of the case against the eighteen accused extradited from Bhopal it is sufficient to say that the case ended in the conviction in the Sessions Court of all the accused.

Translation of one of the intercepted letters :—

" Sidh Shri sarb Upmájog Rajeshri. Kalyándás writes. Let it be known to Gumandás that the news of your welfare is first of all required, then all is well here. If you have time and have recovered from illness, come on receipt of (this) letter. And we are in great trouble here and no 'murti' (*i. e.*, member of a gang) helps, therefore we have written to you. If you have recovered fully, then you shall find us at Bijapur, Tásbaodi, with Baldeodás till *dasmí* (10th) and in case you have no time to come, then on receipt of this note send letter to the (following) address :—Bijapur Tásbaodi, c/o Baldeodás.

We have sent two 'murtis' (members) to *mandar* (home) with *kharcha* (money). Rám Rám Sitarám from Kalyándás and Raghunáthdás to Gumándás and Lachmansing. And what can two 'murtis' do. And three seers of flour (300 rupees worth of stolen property) have been lost. It is not known who has taken them. $4\frac{3}{4}$ seers of flour (475 rupees worth of stolen property) has been sent to *mandar* (home) and come soon on hearing (receipt of) the letter, and we are getting anxious for want of men (assistance). Rám Rám to Bachu Sonar (a 'receiver') from Kalyánsing."

The *gyán* (alluded to as 'Gyándás' in the presence of strangers in order to mislead them into believing that an individual is being talked about) or *daulatia* is their chief and characteristic implement of house-breaking. A knife, exhibit 20 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate VI, or razor, sticks, wax taper, exhibit 20 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate VI, and match-box (taendstickers) complete the outfit

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

carried by Bowri burglars. The wax taper is usually carried wrapped round the sheath of the knife which is stuck into the left side of the leader's *dhotar*. The *gyán* is similarly carried by one of the 'pitwádis.'

Gyáns are of three kinds. That carried by Dehliwáls, exhibit 20 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate VI, is like an ordinary iron ladle (*palli* or *kadchi*) but is heavier and stronger than the ordinary culinary spoon and is made of an alloy of iron and steel, the end of the handle being sharpened and tempered. This *gyán* is used both for cooking and criminal purposes. The Málpuras' and Khairwádas' *gyán* is an ordinary pointed steel jemmy about fifteen to eighteen inches long with a knob at the end. The Badaks' *gyán* is a steel and iron jemmy, six to ten inches long, fitted into a wooden handle about the same length, bound at the top and also where the metal fits into the wood, with iron bands.

The Moghias' *daulatia* is believed to be an iron zig-zag shaped jemmy fitted into a wooden handle, but an authentic specimen has not come under observation, therefore the accuracy of the description cannot be vouched for.

In addition to other articles mentioned above and elsewhere in this note, a Bowri leader usually carries a ball of wax for coating the taper and improvising a make-shift rough pair of scales for weighing valuables, exhibit 56 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate IV.

Property acquired by theft is first divided into five shares.

Ways and means of concealing and disposing of stolen property. The leader gets one, the remaining four are then divided into as many shares as there are members of the gang including the leader and even those who did not actually assist at the crime and each man gets a share; thus the leader gets 20 per cent. of the spoil plus an equal share with all others in the remaining 80 per cent. This seems to be a general rule among all Bauriah divisions. The allocation to the leader of a 20 per cent. share to begin with is apparently based on an old understanding that it is a responsibility belonging to the leader to—

(a) distribute alms to Bráhmíns ;

(b) pay dues to 'Doms ;' *

* These men sometimes on hearing of a successful haul travel down south, passing themselves off as Bháts or bards, join up with a Bauriah gang and obtain their dues or share of the spoil.

- (c) help his female relations who may be unprovided for; and
- (d) propitiate the deity by giving a feast to the males of the gang.

There is often much quarrelling over the distribution of the 'loot' and when this is the case the property, of whatever description, is broken up and divided into shares. Should there be no differences, articles of jewellery containing pearls and precious stones are put aside for subsequent disposal and division of sale-proceeds, the rest being broken up if necessary and divided at once in the manner described above. Each member melts down the gold and silver that comes to his share in a crucible improvised for the occasion made of earth with a slight admixture of cotton to bind it. He sells the metal or disposes of such articles as come to his share intact to 'receivers,' who are shroffs, goldsmiths, Banias, Gujars, Borahs and the like.

Articles with pearls and precious stones in them are, pending sale, kept by the leader who disposes of them later as opportunity offers to 'receivers,' the sale-proceeds being divided in the manner stated above.

Pending division or disposal, valuables are cunningly buried, in the case of those who live outside towns and villages, in the near vicinity of the halting place. When moving camp each man carries his cash and the stolen property allotted to his share on his person. Arrived at a fresh halting place valuables are again buried. Property is not, as a rule, sent home by parcel but is occasionally sent home in charge of one or two members of the party who after safely delivering it rejoin the gang. Cash is remitted by money-order, under the usual precautions, fictitious names etc., to baffle trace and disarm suspicion.

On one occasion when the police surprised some Dehliwáls, the men made themselves scarce and one of the women concealed some stolen property in a heap of *chapâtis*.

Correspondence from their country by post is received through some local friend who is kept in ignorance as to their caste and calling. In their letters members of a gang are referred to as 'murtis,' their home as 'mandar' and stolen property as *âta* (flour). A seer of *âta* means a hundred rupees worth of stolen property, two seers two hundred rupees worth, etc.

Property is buried by individuals separately. That belonging to the gang as a whole, *i. e.*, before division, is buried by the leader, who when returning from the place of concealment is careful to obliterate his foot-prints. To do this he stoops and dusts them over with the end of a cloth for some distance as he walks backwards. On the move it is carried by one of the able-bodied members of the gang who is specially fleet of foot. If any serious risk is anticipated, the property is buried and left behind, one of the gang in the get-up of a Sádhu (among Badaks perhaps an Aughur Sádhu) remaining near the spot till such time as he can safely remove the property or the gang returns.

The hole dug by Bowris when concealing property under ground, is generally wider at the base than at the surface and the property is deposited in a small side burrow scooped out at the base.

Bauriahs are in the habit of sewing their knives in the edges of their quilts and when required to shake out the latter they take care to grasp the quilt at the point where the knife is concealed.

Marwar Baoris or Gujerat Baoris.

Mārwar Vāghris or Bāghris, also known as Mārwar Bāoris, appear to be one of the many off-shoots of the large Bauriah tribe. They are sometimes, though erroneously, called Gujerat Bāoris. They are not the same as the Vāghris of Gujerat proper though they try to pass themselves off as such, and differ widely from the latter in their habits, criminal tendencies, and methods.

They are divided into clans, of which the following are some :—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Parmār. | Adhāni. |
| Solanki. | Rāthod. |
| Shoṅklā or Vaghelā. | Dhengāni. |
| Damdārā. | Atāni. |
| Dābhi. | Sāngāni. |
| Geladā or Gelot. | Deodā. |
| Chohān (also pronounced as Sohān). | |

The Mārwar Vāghris' original habitat is Mārwar. Some families have migrated into Gujerat where their separate identity is lost among the Vāghri class. They are to be found in great numbers in Kathiawad, Sind and Rajputana, and in lesser numbers in the Central Provinces.

Many of this class, notably those who are given to coining, wander about the country in small gangs of varying numbers, usually not exceeding ten, accompanied by women, children and ponies. They travel as far as Calcutta, Indore and Lahore, are to be met with in this Presidency, Madras, the Central Provinces, Bengal and the Berars. They wander from place to place throughout the year, but during the monsoon do not move camp so frequently, endeavouring to fix up where they have formed local connections. Those who are without encumbrances and live under false pretences in towns, travel by train.

The tribe is believed not to exceed 2,000, but this is only a guess; no reliable figures are forthcoming.

Márwár Vághris are generally dark, of medium build and are, with few exceptions, dirty and squalid in their habits and dress.

Appearance, dress, etc.

They are capable of much endurance and can cover great distances in the day, even thirty to forty miles when pushed. The men wear an old *dhotar*, short *angarkha* or shirt or a coat and a worn-out *pagri* or a *dupatta* which they fold either in the Márwár or Gujerat fashion. Those to be met with in this Presidency, who are more or less domiciled here, do not grow beards nor wear the hair long. The females usually wear the *ghaghra* or petticoat (never white or black), sometimes a *sári*, bodice open at the back, *odni* or head-scarf, bangles made of so-called ivory or cocoanut shell, the *toti* (ear ornament), a *lavan* (a clove-shaped ornament) in the nose, silver or *kāsa* (bell-metal) anklets and toe-rings.

Men as well as women are marked on the belly by scars, the result of branding.

The tattoo markings on a woman's face are a line from the outer corner of each eye, a dot at the inner corner of the left eye, one on the left cheek and one on the chin. They have also distinctive tattoo marks on each arm, the chest and the shins. They eat all sorts of flesh, except that of the cow and village pig, and indulge in liquor. They are superstitious and sometimes propitiate the goddess before starting on an expedition.

They usually encamp outside a village in a tope of trees or field where they live in the open and sometimes in tents or temporarily constructed huts. In the rains they hire lodgings on the outskirts of villages or towns, or put up in temples, *dharamsalās* and the like.

The headman of a gang is styled a 'jamadár' or 'málak' or 'panch sáti' or 'jhágardoo' and the gang is known as a '*tānda*.'

Márwár Báoris and Moghias feed together when they meet.

Márwár Vághris have a dialect of their own, 'Báori-bhásha,' which resembles Márwádi.

Dialect and peculiarities of speech.

Those in Gujerat speak corrupt Gujerati. They can also speak Hindi, and generally pick up a smattering of the language of the country they peregrinate in.

Slang used.

The following are some of the slang expressions used by Mārwar Vāghris :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| mulgo | ... an officer, or saheb. |
| fāsal | ... sepoy. |
| lasuria, lahoor <i>or</i> phogdá | ... counterfeit rupee. |
| adiya, nanámá | ... mould. |
| kádshi | ... ladle in which the metal is melted. |
| mundálá, dalá <i>or</i> rengá | ... a genuine rupee. |
| peelwa | ... gold. |
| nanámi | ... tin. |
| vávri jao, sapardi jao, modi jao. | run or decamp. |
| bahodi gayo | ... arrested. |
| kowli | ... silver. |
| ratadia <i>or</i> lakdio | ... pice. |
| agto | ... Báori man. |
| agti | ... Báori woman. |
| khengro <i>or</i> khengolio | ... village or house. |
| baprá, bahuá <i>or</i> tápuá | ... bread. |
| majuhá | ... wheat. |
| lectee | ... a spiral track made by Báoris for the guidance of those following. |
| waggarl | ... alloy of <i>kásá</i> , copper and tin in equal proportions. |
| máwá | ... mixture of metals, <i>viz.</i> , <i>kásá</i> , copper and tin in the proportion of 1, 1 and 10 respectively. |
| nákrá | ... bullock. |
| kunjri | ... buffalo. |
| nahori | ... jackal. |
| konlia | ... boy. |
| mánhon | ... man. |
| gunjion | ... the secret pocket in a <i>dhoti</i> . |
| nirkhun | ... water. |
| dantion | ... meat. |
| halkas | ... dagger. |
| kaunli | ... earth. |
| dungaria | ... axe. |
| rar <i>or</i> bunbal | ... the passing of counterfeit coin. |
| phuharto | ... horse. |
| athario | ... saddle. |
| pilu <i>or</i> namayan | ... <i>ghí</i> . |
| tukarion | ... Brahmin. |
| targoli | ... sacred thread. |

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| vamaraya | ... to run away. |
| german | ... brass utensil. |
| ranga hoko | ... bribe him. |
| aur che | ... is coming. |
| lahi jashi | ... it will be found. |
| narsi jashi | ... it will be detected. |
| pee | ... to change. |
| pee mán | ... do not change. |
| hamen pee aro | ... change it now. |
| narsiyo poso hokro | ... return the coin. |
| tukario thai jo | ... go disguised as a Bráhmín. |
| hátari náko | ... conceal it. |
| khádro | ... hole. |
| velion | ... credulous person. |
| verton velion che | ... he is simple and credulous. |
| babko or hokro | ... exchange counterfeit coins. |

To indicate to others of the caste who may follow on their tracks, the route taken, a member of the gang, usually a woman, trails a stick in the dust as she walks along leaving a spiral track on the ground. Another method for indicating the route taken is to place leaves under stones at intervals along the route.

They make use of the above signs even when begging in the villages round their encampments, as well as when on the march.

In Márwár they cultivate land. A few maintain themselves by carrying *kávads* of water from the holy Ganges and selling the latter to Hindus. Some cheat by selling ordinary water in which a little *gopichandan* has been mixed to give it a slightly turbid appearance. These water-carriers call themselves 'Gangájal Vághris or Báoris.'

Away from Márwár when making a prolonged halt anywhere, they sometimes cultivate cucumbers etc. in Gujerat and there and elsewhere rent land even on a year's lease; but begging is their chief ostensible means of subsistence.

While out on criminal expeditions they will often pass themselves off as 'Bháts' or bards reciting with great fluency the exploits of heroes of old, or as 'Kabir Panthis' reciting 'Kabir' poetry.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

When they leave their encampments singly or in pairs to pass counterfeits they dress themselves up as 'Sādhus,' usually 'Giri Gosāvis' in salmon-coloured clothes, wear *rudrāksh* beads and affix 'gir' or 'dās' to their names. They are also known to pose as Brāhmīns, Kumhārs, Kunbis, Rajputs or Chārāns. In Gujerat they generally pass themselves off as 'Salāts' or stone-dressers.

Occasionally in the Deccan they secure accommodation in villages and towns and pass themselves off as 'Phul Mālis' and 'Mālis' (gardeners).

The males frequently change their names.

Mārwar Vāghris as a class are inveterate and hereditary coiners, the exact prototype of Chhapparbands. Men as well as women are experts. They coin false rupees, as well as eight, four and two anna pieces. They also cheat Banias by the substitution of counterfeit *mohurs* for gold ones.

Their methods are very similar to those of the Chhapparbands. Their work is superior though their appliances are crude and their handicraft confined to casting counterfeits of an alloy of base metals. Their moulds are very typical and are made in the following manner. Two blocks, each about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch deep by about 3 inches square, are made up from good potter's clay (a little cotton or wool is mixed with it to make it binding), and into one, used as the lower half of the mould, two pegs with pointed protruding ends are driven, one into each of the opposite angles of the block. The other half of the mould is then carefully fitted on to the first one, holes being made to receive the two pegs described above and keep the blocks, when used as a mould, in position. The blocks are then set to dry, in the shade for choice, to avoid cracking. While drying, the blocks are polished outside with the hand to give them a finish. After they have hardened, the inner faces are rubbed on a stone to give each a level surface, so that when the two are brought together they shall fit exactly. Then a hollow, rather larger than a rupee in circumference and about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch deep, is scooped in the centre of the inner side of the lower block and a small channel is cut in the side of this block leading into the prepared hollow. A circular *hole*, rather larger in circumference than a rupee, is then made *through* the upper block and a channel is cut in this block in exact juxta-position

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

to the one in the lower block, to form, when both blocks are fitted together, one small round channel in the side of the mould to admit the melted metal into the cavity prepared for the rupee.

Lime-stone, called 'marad ká pathar,' is ground and sifted down to a very fine powder which is then mixed with a little *ghi*. A fine clay or plaster-of-paris is thus formed and is filled separately into the cavity of the lower block and the round hold of the upper one. A rupee with a clear bold impression is then fitted into the lower block and skilfully pressed and kneaded into it till it is half embedded. The upper block is then fitted on to the lower one to get an impression of the obverse and that having been done by the application of pressure from above to the white clay, the rupee is dexterously removed, a channel delicately scraped in the white clay at the place provided in the mould for the admission of the molten metal, and the mould is then complete. If the clay in the mould appears to be too sticky, a little ash is dusted over it before the rupee is placed in the mould to obtain an impression. The metal used is a mixture of copper, *kásá* (bell-metal) and *rāngá* or *kalái* (tin) in the proportion of 1 and 1 to 10 respectively. The *kásá*, copper and an equal quantity of the tin, are first melted in a small earthen saucer. This alloy is called '*waggarl*.' The remainder of the tin is now added and the alloy termed '*māwá*' turned out and again melted in a *palli* (ladle) plastered with wet mud (this is a point to be noted) and poured into the mould.

After turning the counterfeit out of the mould, the edges of the former are trimmed with a knife and those of a new genuine coin are pressed round the softer edge of the spurious article to give the latter the milling. Cow-dung usually, occasionally soot, alum, saltpetre or turmeric are used as required for polishing up the coin or giving it the appearance of a genuine and handled one.

Each mould is capable of turning out a considerable number of counterfeits and usually lasts for months. The white clay in the centre will ordinarily cast about twenty rupees, not more, before it requires to be renewed.

After the coins have been manufactured, those who have to utter them separate themselves from the gang and go out in ones or twos in different directions, the coins being kept concealed in small pockets sewn in the front folds of their *dhotis* as described further on.

The Báori utterer approaches his dupe, male or female, the latter being preferred, poses as a country simpleton or pilgrim to some shrine and offers a 'Rājshāhi' rupee either to be cashed or with enquiries if it is current. On being told that the 'Rājshāhi' coin is not current, he asks to be shown a rupee that is, and having looked at the one shown him and studied it he substitutes by sleight-of-hand one of his counterfeits for the genuine coin. He invariably holds a short piece of stick, fashioned as tooth cleaning stick as a rule, in the right hand when palming off a counterfeit.

The base rupee is held in the right hand and the stick is held to justify the contraction of the hand which is holding the counterfeit. The 'Hāli' or 'Rājshāhi' is tendered with the left. The current rupee is also received with the left hand and while the coiner looks at it and is discussing it he cleverly and quickly passes it into the right hand, the base coin being substituted for it in the left; all the while he looks his dupe in the face and keeps up a volley of small talk to divert the attention of the latter. An expert can thus pass some twenty counterfeits at a time under favourable circumstances, but usually not more than two are attempted. His *modus operandi* at this stage is in fact precisely that of a conjurer, who for the success of his trick has to divert the attention of his audience.

With luck, a Mārwar Báori will pass as many as ten to twenty counterfeits in a day.

Other modes of passing counterfeits are for the coiner to hand a spurious rupee in payment for articles purchased worth an anna or two, taking the difference in cash; or, to produce a 'Rājshāhi' (or 'Bādshāhi') coin; the victim refuses to take a rupee that is not current, and the coiner then asks to be shown the kind of rupee required. This being done a counterfeit is cleverly substituted for it. Or, he pays for his purchases with a genuine rupee, expresses dissatisfaction with the weight or quality of the commodity purchased, altercates with the shopkeeper and causes the latter to return his money. The dispute continues and eventually the Báori consents to accept the goods and plants a counterfeit in payment instead of the genuine coin the Bania returned.

A third method is as follows :—The Báori goes to a grocer's shop to purchase *ghi* or other commodity and pretending ignorance of weights and measures prevails on the shopkeeper to scale the *ghi* against rupees (twenty to a quarter seer).

Under one pretence or another he handles the money and while doing so, substitutes the counterfeits for the genuine coins.

They never carry counterfeit rupees and smaller spurious coins together.

Cheating by planting false *mohurs* is carried out as follows:—Two small bags of exactly the same size (sufficiently large to hold a *mohur*), material and appearance are made. One contains a genuine gold *mohur* valued at about Rs. 24, the other a spurious one. The former is mortgaged with a Bania for Rs. 20, at twenty per cent. interest. After a time the Bāori returns and complaining of the exorbitant rate of interest demands the bag containing his *mohur* back. It is returned. The Bāori and his confederates then begin to altercate among themselves at the shop and the owner of the *mohur* is advised and persuaded, apparently much against his will, by his companions to pawn the article. Meanwhile the bag containing the spurious *mohur* has been substituted for the one containing the genuine coin. The Bania having already satisfied himself when he took the bag the first time that the coin was genuine, accepts the bag containing the counterfeit and without examining the contents further, advances the Rs. 20 and the Bāoris then depart the richer by Rs. 20 and the poorer by a small bag containing a worthless counterfeit.

The characteristic mould, exhibit 37 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate III, as described above, a *palli* (iron spoon), a few copper coins, pieces of *kāśā*, tin, a knife, some pieces of lime-stone of the kind mentioned above, or clay, an earthen crucible or saucer and a few 'Rājshāhi' or 'Hāli Siccā' rupees, complete the paraphernalia of a Bāori coiner.

The *palli* will usually be found to have a small dip in the edge to facilitate the pouring of the molten metal.

Counterfeits and moulds are generally buried in or near (say about twenty to thirty yards away) their encampments and have been found in the ground under their bedding, fire-places, etc.

Counterfeit rupees are carried in one of the pockets cunningly provided for the purpose, by sewing some of the pleats in the front folds of the *dhoti*; genuine ones, as received, are dropped into hidden pockets formed in the same way and

Stock-in-trade, instruments and incriminating articles.

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of incriminating articles.

concealed in the same garment among the folds which, usually drawn together and tucked in at the back, are for this purpose brought a little round to the right side. Later, genuine coins are transferred to one of the pockets in the front folds of the *dhōti* where they are more easily grasped by the hand when the *dhōti* is undone and concealed there, are less liable to come to notice in a search.

A left-handed man will have his hip pockets on the left side.

When the gang is on the move, coining requisites are, as a rule, conveyed by the women in concealed pockets in their *ghágras* or in children's pockets. Counterfeits are taken away by the utterers who separate themselves from the main body.

Ujle (clean) Minas.

Minas are not known by any other name. Broadly speaking there are two social divisions among them,—

Name of criminal class
or tribe.

Chowkidars and
Zamindars.

The former alone are noted for their criminal propensities; the latter are land-owners and law-abiding.

The best known *goths* or clans among Chowkidars are:—
(1) Kágot, (2) Bhonráyat, (3) Jeff, (4) Sevria, (5) Seehra, (6) Jhirwál, (7) Pabdi, (8) Bágdi, (9) Gomládoo, (10) Bâsanwal, (11) Kháta, (12) Nowgáda, (13) Dewánda. The first five are the most criminal.

The home of the Minas is Jodhpur, Jeypore, Bhartpore,
Bikaneer and Alwar States and Shah-
jahanpur in the Gurgaon District of
the Panjab.

Habitat.

Kágot Minas hail from Mandawar in Alwar State and Shahjahanpur; Bhonráyat from Toravati, Jeypore State; Jeff from the Nimká Thana district of the Jeypore State; Sevria from Bairát district, Jeypore State; and Seehra from Kotpootli and Khetdi under Jeypore.

Their sphere of activity extends pretty well all over India,
but the Bombay Presidency, Central
Provinces, Mysore State, His High-
ness the Nizam's Dominions, are
especially attractive to this criminal tribe.

Sphere of activity and wan-
dering proclivities.

Minas are not a nomadic class but settled. It is only in pursuit of crime that they leave their homes. Ordinarily they set out after the Dasra or Divali festivals (about October), return home before the Holi (March), start again in April and remain abroad till July. Occasionally they will stay away between whiles (during the monsoon) if they fear capture in the event of their return home or, if they have reason to know that a prolonged stay is likely to prove a lucrative one. During such unusual absences they live in large towns, not in villages, and do not travel about the country. The men alone visit this Presidency.

They are not accompanied by females, boys or cattle, and travel about both by rail and road. Minas leave their country in large numbers, but work in small gangs of two to six generally, occasionally even twelve. As a rule the smaller gangs of two and three are composed of the more criminal and expert individuals. They prefer to patronize villages and small towns rather than big cities. In villages they put up in *dharamsálás* or temples; in large towns and cities, where they have 'fences' and friends, they are harboured and accommodated in houses rented by the latter. Each gang or *giroh* has a leader known as 'jamadár.'

When travelling by rail they avoid all big junctions and stations, never book direct to their destination, take tickets to some intermediate station, alight, journey for some distance on foot and book at a wayside station to another intermediate station and so on. Thus they rebook four or five times before reaching their objective and perform the entire journey mostly by rail, partly by road.

In this Presidency their chief hunting grounds are the Deccan, Bombay City, Gujerat, Kathiawad and the Carnatic. They also frequent Pandharpur in considerable numbers. Generally, they make short halts of a day or two at each place they visit and then push on planning or committing crime as they go, though not using any town or village as a centre from which to exploit the surrounding country. Prolonged halts are made only in populous towns. They never return along a route they have operated on. Once they have tried their luck anywhere, they clear off for the time being and should they happen to come across others of the fraternity warn them against working in the neighbourhood.

In dress and appearance they strongly resemble Rajputs, but when met with in this Presidency are nearly always in disguise.

Appearance, dress, etc. With the exception of a small ear-ring, the men when away from home wear no ornaments. They do not tattoo. In physique they are strong, well built, and medium to tall; and they vary in complexion and are mostly good-looking. In habits and dress they are clean and as a rule bathe daily. In their country they allow the beard to grow, abroad they generally shave.

They are good travellers, capable of covering long distances, even sixty miles by road if pressed and are well inured to all hardships.

In the commission of crime they are resourceful and bold.

Minas are flesh eaters but eschew beef. They are very fond of intoxicating drinks and opium.

As their women and children do not visit this Presidency, the remainder of this note will deal only with the men.

They speak Márwádi or Rajputáni, according to the place of their birth. All can talk Hindi and Urdu fluently and many are educated.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Minas have few slang expressions; enquiries from 'informers' have elicited only the following:—

Slang and signs used.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|----------------------|---|
| rumál | ... house-breaking implement. |
| kájli, cháyi | ... dark night. |
| dáns, machhar, kutta | ... police constable. |
| rumál rakhdo | ... keep the house-breaking implement out of the way. |

By way of warning other gangs against following on his heels the 'jamadár' of a gang scribbles his name in Urdu or Hindi on prominently situated *dharamsālā* walls, temples, mile-stones and the like. Gangs as a rule do not attempt to foregather; accidental meetings of course take place, but it is characteristic of Mina gangs that they act independently of one another and do not follow one another by the same route.

Sometimes members of a gang get separated during the confusion of an attack or pursuit during or after the commission of a crime. When this occurs the stragglers invariably make for the rendezvous (mentioned later under "Methods employed in committing crime" etc.) where the paraphernalia belonging to the gang was left before proceeding to the scene of the offence. Here the others after recovering their clothing etc. either make a rude drawing of a snake on the ground and on the side of the nearest track, or road, to indicate the direction taken, or strew leaves broken from the tree in which their clothing etc. was placed, to the nearest track on the side of which a similar drawing is then left to point the route followed. The tail of the snake indicates the direction in which the gang has gone and the straggler follows up the main body till he overtakes it, probably during its halt for the midday meal. At junctions and cross-roads the snake drawing is repeated.

In their country they are cultivators, land-owners, chowkidars (village police) and some have enlisted in the native army. During their criminal peregrinations they live ostensibly by begging (when they usually commence their request for alms with the words ' *Jai! Báláji ki jai!* '), sometimes by selling *sév-bhajyé*, tobacco, matches etc. ; usually however they leave home well-provided with funds and never earn an honest penny down-country.

On criminal expeditions, they shave their heads and faces and get themselves up, faithfully in respect to all details, as Márwádís or Gowd Chonniati Bráhmíns. Sometimes a gang is accompanied by a genuine Bráhmín to instruct and answer up for it when interrogated.

Lately they have taken to disguising themselves as Sanjogi Sádhus who dress like Bráhmíns and sometimes adopt the salmon-coloured *sápha* or *pagri*.

They also pass themselves off as Thákores bound for some large military town to visit some relative who is serving in a native regiment. On such occasions they do not shave off their beards or disguise themselves. They will also be found posing as Dakots (astrologers) with a *khurji*, a sort of miniature saddle-bag slung over the left shoulder, and occasionally a *hookah* in the right hand and an image of 'Saturn' in the left.

Now and again with a hatchet on their shoulder they walk about in towns ostensibly in search of labour as wood-choppers, but invariably find some excuse for refusing work if offered.

The following hints for identifying Minas will be found useful:—

(1) They generally cut off the turn-over piece of leather at the toe of the shoes (invariably of the Márwádi pattern) which they wear.

(2) After bathing they wash their clothes by pounding and squeezing them on a stone, not in the ordinary way by swinging and striking them like the generality of Hindus.

(3) Unless they bring off a lucrative haul, they will not shave except at home and then only after offering *karai* to the goddess. When circumstances permit of their shaving down-country, this operation is performed only during the bright half of the month.

(4) Away from home they will not eat rice, sugarcane, berries, fried grains or any meat but mutton.

(5) They will not dine at a marriage feast. When a Márwadi or a Márwadi Bráhmín dies, Bráhmíns from the neighbourhood assemble for the dinner and *dakshina*. Should there be any Minas about at the time they will invariably attend the ceremony.

(6) Unlike Bráhmíns, whom they imitate, they dine two or more together from one plate.

(7) When bathing they do not cleanse the soles of their feet by rubbing them against stone.

(8) When in disguise they will adopt the 'Rámanandi' (triangular) or 'Shridhāran' (trident) *tilak* (forehead mark). They are very particular to put this mark on, correct in all details.

(9) Whatever the disguise adopted, the *pagri* is always tied in a characteristic manner, *vis.*, in Márwadi fashion, deep over the forehead and back of the head, shallower over the sides where the folds cross.

(10) The presence of a dried goat's tongue either intact, in pieces or rolled into pills (about the size of a gram seed) among the effects of an individual suspected of being an up-country criminal, is said to be an infallible indication of his identity as a Mina. The flesh of the goat's tongue is indispensable in connection with the consulting of omens. This goat's tongue is usually wrapped in a piece of cloth and very carefully secreted in one of the satchels among the salt, tobacco, or condiments.

In this Presidency their favourite form of crime is burglary and so long as this yields them a sufficient return they do not take to anything else. Sometimes when the larder is low they lift a sheep or goat.

Dacoity is not deliberately resorted to so long as they can get what they want by the less serious form of crime, though of course a burglary may develop into a technical dacoity.

In large towns or cities Minas nearly always have Bráhmín, Thákore, Ráthod, Shroff, or Márwadi friends, in fact, till they have established a connection in any such place they will not make a prolonged

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

halt there. These friends act as their 'informers' and frequently invite them down-country, accommodate them and supply their needs. But where they have no such local friends Mina gangs make short halts and obtain information for themselves, or, setting up as *sev-bhajye* or tobacco and *bidi* sellers in large towns, open a shop in the immediate vicinity of some rich Márwádi or *sáwkar's* house which they carefully prospect and burgle at the first favourable opportunity. The bright half of the month is devoted to reconnoitring and planning and the dark half to action. On arriving in a village, the gang, in twos or threes, wanders from house to house begging, inspecting, reconnoitring surroundings and estimating, from the general appearance of the occupants of the house, whether it is worth burgling and risking, all difficulties in the way of a successful raid being carefully considered; and one or two will perhaps prowl about bathing gháts, wells, etc., watch the women and follow those who are apparently in affluent circumstances, to mark down where they live. At the village next selected for a halt the same programme is gone through and so on until the gang has travelled perhaps fifty or sixty miles and has marked down some ten or fifteen houses, all in different villages. Directly the dark half of the month comes round, the gang go back on their tracks and commence operations by breaking into the house last reconnoitred. The other houses are taken in turn, the one first marked down being the last to be robbed. Before starting to commit a crime they tie a *bhajangi* or *gáti*, i. e., a sheet of 'khádi' cloth, generally of an ashy colour, over the body, leaving the arms free. In this they hitch their shoes round the waist. They arm themselves with stones, knives, a hatchet, freshly cut sticks and a jemmy. Formerly they used *kadchis* or *pallis* (ladles) like the Bowri *gyán* and some gangs probably do so still; but this implement has now been generally discarded in favour of a bolt called *ganesh khila*, used for fixing the body of a cart to the axle-bar (this they pilfer from some convenient cart lying idle near the village), or one of the bolts removed from one side of the lower wheel used on an irrigation well, or the iron peg commonly known as *gulumekh*, used for tethering animals or pitching tents. The heads of jemmies so improvised are encased in cloth and the points sharpened against stone. Occasionally an iron-bound *lāthi*, exhibit 55 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate I, with a jemmy concealed in it after the manner of the blade of a sword-stick, is carried. There is nothing in the outward

appearance of the *lāthi* to distinguish it from one of the ordinary kind carried by people of Northern and Central India. The jemmy is screwed on to the head of and into, the thin end of the *lāthi* so neatly that its existence almost defies detection. About two miles or so from the scene of the contemplated crime they leave their superfluous clothes, utensils, etc., in a bundle fixed up in some tree and then make for the village. Entry to the house is effected by boring a hole in the wall in the 'bagli' or 'rumāli' fashion or by breaking through the roof and lowering a man by means of a *dhotar* or rope. In the latter case the intruder first proceeds to open one of the doors from the inside and to this the rest of the gang shift. When it is necessary to remove a large box or safe through a hole made in a wall, the aperture is generally large and square in shape. In any case the hole is usually neat, clean and without ragged edges. Safes are rolled to the hole or door, over quilts to deaden sound. Minas also break in through windows and lift chains by inserting a forked instrument between badly-fitting shutters. They are expert in picking locks by means of strong wire pushed into the lock and entwined round some essential part which is then pulled out forcibly. The hole (made in the 'rumāli' fashion) is large, almost enabling a man to sit up in it, whereas a hole made by Bauriahs is usually only large enough for a man to crawl through on his stomach. Before entering by a hole, the intruder investigates the other side by groping about with a stick, round the end of which a cloth is wrapped. As a rule but one man enters the house. He lights a 'taendsticker' match and makes a mental note of the position of occupants and contents of the room. The match is then quickly put out and the process is repeated in every fresh apartment that he enters. He is only joined by others in case heavy boxes or safes have to be removed, or, if owing to the number of occupants it is considered desirable that he should be supported. The hole in the wall is screened with a cloth to exclude light, air and noise and to dim the reflection on the road of any light which may be burning inside. Some of the gang guard the lanes and approaches, while others are at hand outside the place of ingress. One man seats himself near this passage through which he receives the property handed out by his confederates inside. During the progress of the burglary one of those outside intimates that all is well to his comrades within by imitating the squeak of a mouse. The approach of danger is notified by a sound resembling the cry

of an owl. Only cash, jewellery and richly embroidered cloths are retained. Other articles of clothing, if taken, are, during retreat, either thrown away near the houses of depressed classes living on the outskirts of villages, deposited near the encampment of any wandering tribe handy, or thrust into some hedge or bush close by one or the other, a portion of the articles so disposed of being left exposed to attract attention. This device is adopted in order to mislead the police. Once the Mina burglar has got into a house he gets to work quickly. He explores the house quietly and cautiously but is not particular whether any of the occupants wakes or not. Should any one be disturbed or raise an alarm, he is at once suppressed and if necessary mercilessly attacked. To avoid capture or in self-defence the Mina is not particular about taking life, though he may not deliberately have intended to do so. During the progress of a crime, communication with one another is carried on in their own dialect without any attempt at disguise.

Minas are extremely dexterous in cutting or taking off ornaments from women while they are asleep, especially during the hot weather when females are sleeping outside their houses.

During the commission of crime if a member of the gang is wounded or killed he is carried off by the rest at all costs. The death of a comrade during a raid is always avenged sooner or later.

Mosques, *mandirs*, shrines and houses of Dakots (astrologers), washermen and sweepers are not as a rule burgled. But if the gang meets with repeated failures in their attempts, a sweeper's house is, as a propitiatory measure, burgled though not entered. By this act they believe they change their luck.

Sometimes if a venture has proved a blank, Minas will defæcate in the house before leaving it, to mark their sense of disappointment and to revenge themselves on and insult the owner of the house.

Highway Dacoity.

The methods employed by Minas are similar to those of Sânsis, but this form of crime is only resorted to when the plunder promises to be large. It is therefore very rare and their methods present no distinctive features.

In custody Minas require careful guarding as they are always ready to take advantage of any opportunity to escape or attack their guard or escort.

Mina gangs always carry a hatchet, the handle separated from the head when not required for use, sticks and pen-knives. For house-breaking they use the *ganesh khilah* (mentioned above) or other jemmy described in the previous heading, sticks, knives and phosphorous matches. In this Presidency and probably elsewhere in British territory, they do not carry swords and fire-arms though in Rajputana and Malwa such weapons are, it is believed, their constant companions.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.
Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

Stolen property is not, as a rule, distributed till turned into cash. Among Minas the 'jamadâr' is not entitled to any extra share: all the members share alike. Two portions are, however, set apart, one for *dharam*, i. e., alms and charitable purposes and the other for Mina widows and widows of deceased accomplices at home, also for menials such as barbers, cobblers, etc.

When travelling, stolen property and incriminating articles are usually carried by one member of the gang, who is preceded by two or three and followed by as many at intervals of two or three hundred yards. The man in the middle keeps his eye on the advance and rear guards who signal danger by flapping a cloth or vocal sounds. On receipt of the danger signal the man with the property strikes off across country, pretends to obey a call of nature, or, adopting some such ruse, proceeds to conceal his charge under ground.

At each halting place the property is buried some distance ahead of where the gang halts. It is subsequently disposed of in any large city or town where they have 'receivers' among Banias, Márwâdis and Shroffs. But if it is the first visit of a *giroh* to a district and they have no friends there, they have sometimes to take property home intact; such occasions are however rare. Costly clothing and valuable articles of jewellery are sometimes sent home by parcel post addressed to some associate or friend and the money-order system is utilized for remitting cash which reaches their families through these channels.

Maile (unclean) Minas.

The preceding note dealt with Minas known as Ujlé (clean) Minas in contradistinction to Mailé (unclean) Minas, the subject of this note. The latter are divided

Name of criminal class
or tribe.

into two classes :—

- (1) Khairwádé and
- (2) Bhilwádé.

Both are sub-divided into a number of *goths*, the following being the best known :—

Khairwádé'.

| | |
|----------|----------|
| Cheeta. | Seengal. |
| Dákal. | Sevgan. |
| Dhávna. | Mer. |
| Jonrwal. | Padiya. |

Bhilwádé'.

| | | |
|-------|------|--------|
| Booj. | Mál. | Barad. |
|-------|------|--------|

Habitat. Khairwádé and Bhilwádé Minas hail from the Rajputana States and Udepur.

Khairwádés visit most of the districts in this Presidency.

Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities.

They come down in small gangs, not exceeding ten in number, ostensibly in search of labour and take up their residence in large towns and cities, especially business centres, where they secure employment as labourers in mills, at docks, as loaders in railway station yards or as day labourers on public and private works. While so employed they plan and commit crime within a radius of ten to fifteen miles from their temporary abodes. They travel down south by rail, after the 'Diváli,' and return home before the monsoon. They are not a nomadic tribe and in this Presidency are not accompanied by families and do not *travel about* committing crime like Ujlé Minas.

Bhilwádés do not ordinarily come south but raid into some of the districts of Gujerat. They are hand-in-glove as a rule with the criminal Bhils of some of the Native States bordering on parts of Gujerat.

Khairwádés are tall, muscular and dark in complexion and generally branded on the wrists. Like Appearance, dress, etc. Márwádis the top of the skull is shaved, the hair on the side of the head being allowed to grow in the 'girdah' fashion. They wear the beard full, roll it like Márwád Rajputs and mostly wear a red or white *pagri* tied in Márwádi style. A *khádi* (coarse cloth), *dhoti*, a *bandi* (jacket) and Márwádi shoes complete their attire. In short, their appearance and dress proclaim them as men from Márwád. They eat all kinds of flesh and are great liquor drinkers and indulge freely in opium and tobacco. They are dirty in their habits and offensive to the olfactory senses.

Bhilwádés in their appearance, dress and mode of living are akin to the Panch Mahals Bhils with whom they interdine and associate.

Khairwádés speak Khairwádi resembling Márwádi. Bhilwádés speak the same dialect as the Bhils. Dialect and peculiarities of speech.

Slang and signs, if they have any, are not known. Their dialect is to all intents and purposes a slang in this Presidency. Slang and signs used.

In their own country, Khairwádés are *chowkidars*, land-owners and cultivators and are enlisted in the native army and police. Down-country they work in mills, at docks, cotton presses, goods yards, on private and large public and railway works and as wood-choppers. Ostensible means of livelihood.

The Bhilwádés' means of subsistence are similar to those of the Panch Mahals Bhils.

Khairwádés do not assume disguises, but if questioned down-country pretend to be Gujars, Játs, Thákores or Thákore Rajputs. Bhilwádés do not adopt any disguise nor do they attempt to conceal their identity beyond claiming to be Bhils. The former muffle their faces when engaged in crimes of violence. Disguises adopted and means of identification.

The Khairwádés' favourite form of crime in this Presidency is burglary with an occasional dacoity thrown in. Bhilwádés, like Bhils, commit highway and village dacoity, robbery and cattle lifting. Crime to which addicted.

The Khairwádés' methods are practically similar to those of 'Ujlé' Minas and the Bhilwádés' to those of the criminal Bhils of Gujerat. The latter usually commit offences in large gangs and use violence when resistance is shown.

Khairwádés have no special form of jemmy. Their occupation is generally of such a kind as to place ordinary tools at their disposal and these they make use of for criminal purposes. For the rest they carry sticks and knives.

Bhilwádés when committing serious offences often carry swords and fire-arms, always bows and arrows.

Khairwádés bury stolen property immediately after the commission of an offence. Later they dispose of it to Mār wádi Baniás of their own country. They send cash home by money-order. They generally form local connections to assist them in the disposal of stolen goods.

Bhilwádés dispose of stolen property and cattle in their own country to Thákores, Kaláls, etc.

Stolen cattle are sometimes killed and consumed and the hides sold.



Oudhias.

Oudhias.

Oudhias or Audhias are known in their own country by a variety of names, such as, 'Oudhias,'
Name of criminal class or tribe. 'Oudh-' or 'Ajodhia-wáshis' or 'báshis' and 'Avadhpuris.' In this Presidency they move about under false colors either as 'Tirathbáshis,' 'Bairágis,' 'Revadiwálás' or 'Khunchewálás' (sweetmeat hawkers), 'Gayáwáls' (agents of the 'Pandás' at Gayá and Benares) and Tewári Bráhmíns.

They are divided into two classes, 'Unch' or high, 'Nich' or low; the former are those of pure and the latter of mixed blood.

Oudhias, as the name implies, were originally inhabitants of Ajodhia. It is not certain when
Habitat. these people came down south and made their homes in the districts of Cawnpore and Fáttehpur where they have made their head-quarters. During recent years some families are believed to have settled in Hulli-khedí, Ghadenti, Ulloor, Mominábád and Hyderabad of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions and in Ganglakhedi of Indore. Isolated families are also, it is said, to be found in the districts of Hamirpur, Allahabad and Lucknow of the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra.

The males generally lead a nomadic life, depredating provinces other than their own, returning to their homes at uncertain periods to rest and dissipate on the proceeds of their crime. Their favourite field of operations embraces the Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, Central India and Lower Bengal. Some are known to have travelled as far as Jagannáth on the east coast of India and to Rámeshwar in the extreme south, so there is practically no limit to the sphere of their activity. The Panjab and Sindh they avoid, it is said, owing to local difficulties and they have made it penal under their caste laws to commit crime in the tract of country lying between the Jamna and Ganges, known among them as the 'Antar beít' ('Antar vedi').
Sphere of activity and wandering proclivities.

The census report of the United Provinces does not, it is believed, show Oudhias as a distinct class. The tribe is relatively a small one. Owing to its nomadic and
Population according to last census, and distribution.

criminal tendencies, individuals while away from home, probably returned themselves as Pardeshis, Bairágis and the like, while in their own province they have possibly been included among Ajodhia-báshi Baniás or as 'Unspecified.' In 1890 there were ascertained to be 375 Oudhias resident in Cawnpore and 159 in Fattehpur.

Oudhias are Hindus and worship several deities, amongst whom the goddess 'Káli-Mái' is the chief. Above all others, she claims their veneration in the highest degree. They invoke blessings and curses in her name and seek her aid in the fulfilment of their criminal enterprises. An oath in her name is binding and her wrath is feared. Oudhias are clannish and though they often disagree and quarrel with one another on social matters or questions of individual rights, in the pursuance of crime they act together and sink their private differences.

The men are mostly away from home thieving. They usually leave about June and return about April or May. They are slim, active and wiry and can travel great distances on foot. The females busy themselves with household duties, seldom seeking any form of outdoor work. Many of them observe *purdah*. Women do not accompany the men on their expeditions, but one or two lads in their teens are usually attached to every gang.

In the districts where they reside they are reported to be perfectly well-behaved, well-to-do and to all appearances respectable in their habits.

Their usual costume when met with in this Presidency consists of a small *feita* (head-scarf) or a white linen cap, a white jacket, under-vest and a short *dhotar* just reaching to the knees. Like all up-country men they always wear shoes and usually carry an umbrella or a stick. In addition to this the Oudhia generally carries a padded quilt and a coarse cloth sheet or two which he carries over the shoulders, often passing a spare *dhotar* over them, round his back under one arm, tying the *dhotar* in a knot in front of his body. This style of arranging and carrying his belongings is peculiar to the traveller in the part of the country he hails from.

To carry his food-stuffs, cooking utensils, toilet requisites (mirror, comb, *kunkoo* and *gopichandan*) and less innocent articles, he provides himself with a *jhola* (capacious double bag after the fashion of a saddle-bag) and this he slings over his shoulder.

Oudhias are very taciturn and in their replies to enquiries by police officers they are discreet, evasive and often impatient.

Their dialect corresponds almost in all details to what is commonly known in these parts as the 'Purabhia' language, the termination *âtâ hai* of a verb in the present tense being invariably corrupted into *âwat hai*; thus *jâtâ hai* would be spoken as *jâwat hai*, and so forth.

As a rule they drop their native style of speech and affect purer Hindustani when talking to outsiders. The language spoken by these people bears no resemblance to that spoken by the Bauriahs of Muzzaffarnagar for whom they are likely to be mistaken by reason of the similarity of the implements of house-breaking used by each.



The following cant words and phrases are in use among Oudhias:—

Slang and signs used.

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| ulâhi ho gai, jhonk gai... | arrested. |
| bari leo ... | make enquiries. |
| bâru fânk deo ... | do away with stolen property. |
| mowsi asoori hey ... | the police are on us. |
| netha tâno chhu chhâlo na ley. | offer bribe so that they may not search. |
| dharâti .. | spoon. |
| konkhi .. | parcel, letter, communication, money-order. |
| bâru ... | property. |
| sowndhi sehi leo par kâch na parna. | put up with the beating but do not admit. |
| gayna ... | home. |
| chohari .. | intimation. |
| bâru baithâro ... | melt gold. |
| khâlo bhaw ... | do your work leisurely. |
| jaldi asroo ... | come at once. |
| gayna se asroo ... | come out of the house. |
| lakhaitin ... | lock. |
| lakhaitu ... | box. |
| karcha ... | brass box (<i>dubba</i>). |
| fundi ... | bolt, stopper, chain, or anything which fastens the door from inside. |
| lohiya ... | iron safe. |
| kodera ... | thief. |
| kodi ... | theft. |

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|--------------|---|
| siyandhi | .. gold. |
| obin | ... silver. |
| dharwat | ... jewellery. |
| sirokha | ... head ornament. |
| timni | ... necklace. |
| getla | ... Deccan Bráhmín. |
| pandreha | ... Bania. |
| thethar | ... Rajput. |
| ledar | ... Marátha. |
| pándey | .. goldsmith. |
| hadkia | ... shroff |
| kong | ... Mahomedan. |
| khadik | ... village pátil. |
| karchia | ... sepoy. |
| dasoova | ... police officer. |
| dasooi | ... police thana. |
| dubila | ... back door. |
| baski dena | ... to make a hole in the wall. |
| chasána | ... to break. |
| fan | ... to open. |
| samo | ... a good opportunity. |
| ládna | .. to run away. |
| konkha | ... charcoal, paper. |
| mádhú | ... village. |
| reh | ... hiding place for property. |
| pán khána | .. to speak in their slang. |
| akaowti | ... share. |
| bedi ayye | ... have brought some property. |
| sahát | ... rendezvous or meeting place. |
| sákha | ... good time or season for thieving. |
| perbhow | ... to reconnoitre. |
| gorakia | ... rámoshi, watchman. |
| akhilah | ... Oudhia. |
| najuva | ... pick-pocket. |
| kajariah | ... night thieves. |
| bawoos | ... dacoits. |
| káti ho gai | ... convicted. |
| ubhai gai | ... released. |
| kachra | ... rascal. |
| karchi | ... flogging. |
| tánch | ... fine. |
| ansane-wálla | ... the Oudhia who breaks into the house. |
| joriha | ... the look-outs. |
| antar kodi | ... an Oudhia who robs from another Oudhia. |
| ferraiya | ... those who have gone out on a thieving expedition. |

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-----------|---|
| deraha | ... one who is left behind at the camp. |
| nowshikha | ... novice. |
| pakya | ... a confirmed criminal. |
| bad-gawa | ... city. |
| poora | ... suburbs. |
| bachda | ... smaller town. |
| mahādu | ... place of residence. |
| lāli | ... gang. |

The following are signs they leave behind for the guidance of other gangs and detached members of any particular gang. A mark thus  made on the roadside indicates the route taken. Where two or more roads join, a line is drawn on the side of the road or track, commencing on the one along which they have come and ending on the particular road followed, the line being drawn across any intervening route to be avoided. Two segments of a circle drawn thus  on a roadside indicate that a gang has halted in the vicinity.

As a class, Udhias have no profession, trade or business. In their own country they do absolutely nothing and lead a life of indolence and luxury on the proceeds of crime. Ostensible means of livelihood. In this Presidency they beg in the role of Bairāgis or set up as grocers or hawkers of sweetmeat, ice-cream etc.

The disguise generally adopted is that of a 'Bairāgi' or a Brāhmin pilgrim. Besides wearing the *jānwa* or *janev* (sacred thread) which the Udhia wears correctly, he sports *tulsi* or the *rudrāksh* beads round his neck. He also carefully paints his forehead in horizontal or vertical lines indiscriminately and the sides of his neck with *gopichandan*. The addition of the *tumdi* or begging bowl to his outfit completes his disguise as a religious beggar. Disguises adopted and means of identification.

While prospecting for a likely house to break into, he carries his *jhola* which contains the necessary tools for house-breaking, picking and prising open locks and one or two cooking utensils, such as a *lawā* (for baking bread), a brass dish and a *lotā* or a *degchi*. These culinary articles are carried about with the sole object of giving the *gyān* (ladle) and *chintā* (tongs) the benefit of their company. The latter

carried by themselves are likely to create suspicion, whereas the whole outfit does not and bears out the general appearance and the protestations of the man that he is a religious mendicant newly arrived. A gang is sometimes accompanied by a woman, picked up down-country, to give the party an appearance of innocence and to disarm police suspicion.

The appearance and movements of these strangers do not as a rule create suspicion of their criminal motives owing to familiarity with the large number of *sādhus*, *fakirs* and pilgrims almost incessantly passing through the country. On the contrary, the charitably inclined readily take advantage of the opportunity to distribute alms. In this respect women are more susceptible to the wiles of the sham mendicant and occasionally become familiar, thus aiding the Oudhia considerably in gaining the information he needs regarding the neighbourhood.

As has been observed above, away from home, they at times take to shop-keeping, or hawking sweets in the guise of up-country 'Wānis' or 'Bānis.' One of the gang opens a grocer's shop with a view to obtaining information for the benefit of the gang regarding the locality. The shop soon becomes a centre of inter-communication for the various groups of the main gang exploiting round about and for the interchange of correspondence which the Oudhias always carry on with one another and with their people at home. It is also a suitable place for meeting, hearing gossip, picking up information and temporarily depositing their stock-in-trade.

The Oudhia is notoriously a cheat, a pick-pocket, thief and above all a house-breaker by day. In Crime to which addicted, cheating he has recourse to the devices and stratagems common to the inferior order of criminals, *i. e.*, using false ornaments as genuine and defrauding greedy 'receivers' on false promises.

Oudhias of Fattchpur were, it is said, also addicted to the manufacture of spurious coin, but, so far as this Presidency is concerned, there is no evidence of their criminality in this direction in the present day.

So far as is known they are not addicted to crimes of violence.

Cheating.

Among a variety of other simple methods by which these people swindle petty dealers, grocers and the like is one which, though not of a particularly high order, deserves passing notice. A visit is made to a grocer's shop to purchase *ghi* for which a receptacle, a cocoanut or *kawit* (wood-apple) shell with the mouth stoppered with a plug, is taken. The Oudhia provides himself with two stoppers or plugs. One is light, made of ordinary cork wound about with a rag, while the other is heavy, made of lead, similarly wrapped in cloth. The receptacle (shell) with the orifice stoppered with the leaden plug is first scaled; then while pretending to clean out the shell before the *ghi* is poured in, the lighter stopper is substituted and with this the receptacle and its contents are weighed. By the exchange of plugs the tricky Oudhia defrauds the unsuspecting grocer of *ghi* equal to the difference between the light and the heavy stopper.

Another of his favorite devices is to decoy a 'receiver' or goldsmith to a lonely place for the purchase of stolen goods and then to rob him of his ready-cash.

Thefts.

The Oudhia is familiar with and expert at many of the methods of the Bhámpa, but is not known to be a railway thief. He carries on his thieving operations in small gangs at fairs, in temples, on bathing *gháts* and in any large gathering, lifting bundles, removing jewellery, picking or cutting pockets, and passing away the stolen property with the aid of his confederates in a very short time.

House-breaking.

The Oudhia does not, as a rule, commit burglary after dark. In all the cases of house-breaking in this Presidency and elsewhere where Oudhias were satisfactorily known to be the perpetrators, it was conclusively proved that the houses were broken into during day-time.

Having carefully selected the city or neighbourhood for exploitation, a gang consisting of eight, ten or even more, settles down in some out-of-the-way *math* or temple three or four miles from the actual field of their operations. Their first care is to ingratiate themselves with the 'poojári' or

keeper to whom they represent themselves as 'Tirathbáshis' or pilgrims travelling from one shrine to another, anxious for a few days' halt to beg alms to enable them to proceed on their journey, or, desirous of halting a few days to allow others of their party, who by some misadventure have got separated, time to rejoin; or give some equally plausible reason for their stay which occasionally extends to long periods.

The gang if a large one, later on, breaks up into groups. The several groups operate independently of each other in different directions, but one is always left at the *math* or temple which is the base, the various groups returning to it periodically, maintaining inter-communication all the while and changing their sphere of operations from time to time.

They generally work and prowl in batches of two and three with their *jholas* slung over their shoulders as described above. After carefully reconnoitring the locality by first begging for flour and alms here and there, they mark down a lonely house, the inmates of which are absent, and having satisfied themselves that they are not likely to be surprised or interfered with, one of them dexterously wrenches off or picks the lock securing the door, a back one for choice, and slips inside the house while his comrades keep a sharp look-out on all sides. In a few minutes the leader emerges on receiving a signal that the coast is clear. Within the few minutes he has been inside the house he has transferred to his *jhola* all the valuables he could lay his hands upon, breaking and bursting open boxes and other receptacles likely to contain cash or ornaments. Once out of the house the culprits separate, making rapidly for their base by different routes. Before separating, and if they can do so without creating suspicion or endangering their safety, they divide up the spoils.

If they can avoid it, Oudhias while in possession of stolen goods will not keep together; when apart, will not, in the presence of strangers, recognize each other and if confronted or questioned they will repudiate all connection with one another.

Counterfeiting Coin.

Their methods in the past, appear to have been similar to those of the 'Chhapparbands' and 'Márwár Baoris,' described elsewhere, of the present day.

Oudhias before leaving premises entered in pursuit of crime are generally careful, should time permit, to replace boxes and other articles disturbed, in their original positions in order that discovery of the theft may be delayed.

While on criminal expeditions away from their country Oudhias keep up a regular correspondence with their people at home and between themselves.

In order to keep themselves posted in the movements and doings of other gangs depredating the neighbouring districts, they correspond through the post receiving the letters through the *poojari* of the temple, some 'receiver' of stolen property or often some respectable person who out of kindness consents to receive letters sent to his care till called for.

Some Oudhias are able to read and write Nāgri or Káythi character and do their own correspondence, the style of which, especially the preamble, is typical and interesting. The letter opens with the names of the addressees, who may be many, immediately followed by another string of names of the writers, the suffix 'wá' (a sign of familiarity or affection) being often added, thus, Bisnáthwá, Pirágwá and so forth. The following is a translation of a typical letter from some Oudhias at home to their caste-fellows abroad :—

"Shri.

Shri worthy of all honor brother Bisnuwá and Attoo and Shiwcharanwá and Baldeo and Mannuwá and Sattowá and Pirágwá and it is written to all brothers by Káshi and Bindában and from Jugal and Nandkishore and Rámkishore and Nārāyen and Pannu and Kullok and Hooblál and Prashád, may Rám Rám of these reach all brothers. May Kali Máí do good to both sides. Further, your letter came, knew the contents; further you say you take money from Bālgobind, but he is gone west. Let it be known to Pirági that all at home are well. Send letters soon. Let it be known to Attoo that the money sent is received," etc. etc.

Implements formerly used by Oudhias were strong iron jemmies about six inches in length, some with a knob at one end and some without. They were pointed down or sharpened to different shapes to suit different purposes, some being flat, others square or round, while those solely intended for picking locks or lifting latches or bolts were lighter and curved. Those designed for breaking through the walls of a house or lifting up windows and doors and bursting open boxes were specially long and strong. As may well be imagined, the tell-tale appearance of these criminal

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

contrivances rendered their possession or conveyance highly risky. The shrewd Oudhia was not slow to realise this serious drawback and with his usual resourcefulness pirated the Bauriah *gyán* (ladle with pointed or sharpened, often steel-tipped, handle). The *gyán*, exhibit 38 of the Bombay District Police Museum, *vide* Plate VI, in the hands of the Oudhias is, however, smaller and more delicate than the one used by the Bauriah.

For the purposes of lock-picking, in which the Oudhia excels, he carries a pair of strongly-made sharp-pointed tongs and country knife with pointed haft, furnished with a removable wooden handle, which he uses for the larger type of lock, whereas for the smaller variety he carries smaller implements fashioned after articles of daily use, such as large-size needles, nail-parers, curved knives, bits of strong steel wire, ear-cleaners and similar things not likely to create suspicion.

For opening doors chained from inside the Oudhia has hit upon a very novel yet simple contrivance. This is but a strong slip of bamboo about nine inches long and an inch in width, notched into V shape at one end. This bamboo fork is inserted between the panels of the door and with it the inside chain is either lifted or pushed back. The Oudhia when questioned usually explains that this bamboo fork is used when baking his bread. He would have you believe that he holds up the bread by its edge in the forked end while he turns it on the fire with the tongs.

As the Oudhia commits crime far away from his home and is constantly moving about from place to place, he is under the necessity of disposing of stolen property as soon as possible. He has his 'receivers' in the various places he is familiar with and with their help soon manages to convert gold and silver ornaments into ready-cash which he promptly remits home by postal money-orders.

Oudhias often send stolen property to their country intact by parcel post. They occasionally too, despatch their 'loot' by railway parcels.

Sometimes gold and silver ornaments are melted in small crucibles which they themselves make of *gopichandan* finely powdered, sifted, kneaded with a little cotton-wool to make them more plastic and dried in the shade. Pending disposal of the property it is buried for the moment in the

Ways and means of concealing or disposing of stolen property.

vicinity of their halting places : they seldom if ever carry about the proceeds of crime.

Sometimes in case of a large haul, buried property is left undisturbed and the gang moves away till enquiry has abated. Later, one of the gang returns in the get-up of a Bráhmín fortune-teller. His object is to ascertain whether local bad characters or up-country criminals are suspected and to acquire this information he even visits the house robbed on the pretext of furnishing the owner with a clue to the culprits by the use of *mantras* (incantations) for the purpose. Should he discover that ' Pardeshis,' ' Bairagis,' or such like foreigners are suspected, no attempt is made to remove the property till some considerable time has elapsed ; if otherwise, the gang returns to the locality and the property is then unearthed and disposed of.

Pathans.

A comprehensive list giving the sub-divisions, clans and other useful information regarding the Patháns of the North-West Frontier Provinces is given in a small work entitled "A Dictionary of Pathán Tribes of the North-West Frontier of India, compiled under the orders of the Quarter-master General in India," supplied to all District and Railway Superintendents of Police with Circular No. C. I. 136, dated the 4th August 1905, from the Inspector General of Police, Bombay Presidency. All the tribes referred to in this dictionary cannot be classed as criminal, but there is a consensus of opinion among officers of this Presidency that the Pathán who visits these parts is nearly always a bad character calling for the attention of the police. Be he a Waziri, a Swáti or an Afridi, a British subject or a trans-frontier man, once he has entered our Presidency he is a Pathán, sometimes termed Rohilla, Cábuli, Pesháwari, Khán, Afghán, Pashtuni, Peshini or Kandahári.

The criminal Patháns met with in this Presidency are mostly from the independent or semi-independent tribes beyond the North-West Frontier, chiefly Swát, Buner, Bájour, Tiráh and the neighbourhood of Kandahár and Pesháwar. They are mostly Yusufzais (including Khudu Khels), upper or lower Mohmands (including Halimzais, Tarakzais, Báezais, Khwaezais), Tarkánis (including Salárzais), Sáfis, Afridis (especially Usmán Khels and Sulemán Khels), Ut Khels and Kákads.

Patháns are of course distinct from Sindhi Beluchis otherwise called Iránis who are also to be met with travelling in gangs with families and children in parts of this Presidency.

The Pathán under consideration is not a nomad. Hailing from Afghanistan and North-West Frontier Provinces, he comes down from up country and settles for a while in some town or village visiting other places where he has friends, as circumstances require.

Bombay and its suburbs such as Ghaut Kopar and Kurla; Poona, Hubli, Belgaum, Surat, Bhusawal in Khandesh,

Ahmedabad and other places have from time to time formed the head-quarters of organizations which have given much trouble until some crime more daring than usual has brought them to the notice of the police.

Patháns usually commit serious organized crime at a considerable distance from their place of residence, sometimes travelling even hundreds of miles by rail for the purpose. Their movements by road are very rapid and they will cover as many as sixty miles at a stretch. In a case on record information showed that Pathán dacoits, retreating from the scene of a heavy temple dacoity, accomplished not less than a hundred and fifty miles in two days.

In respect to ordinary crime such as house-breaking and thefts they are not particular and commit these at a distance from and in or near the town or village they are temporarily settled in.

With the exception of a few individuals to be met with here and there who have formed connections in this Presidency and have no hankering after a return to their country, Patháns visiting the Bombay Presidency are not accompanied by their families.

So far as experience in this Presidency is concerned they have no particular season for coming down south or returning north. They come and go as the spirit moves them. A good many have settled in this Presidency and have intermarried with local women and raised families.

It is difficult to even estimate the numerical strength of these undesirables passing through or residing in this Presidency. A rough estimate of their strength comes to about 2,000 in the mofussil districts of the Presidency Proper.

Few are really settled and most of them pay periodical visits to their north country homes. Many never settle at all but travel from district to district and within a year or so return north.

The Pathán's appearance and dress are sufficiently distinctive to proclaim his caste. His physique is excellent and far superior to that of any class indigenous to the Presidency. He is broad and well built, medium to tall in stature, strong, muscular, hardy and energetic, with Caucasian features, fair,

Population according to last census, and distribution.

Appearance, dress, etc.

ruddy complexion and haughty bearing. By temperament he is treacherous, impetuous, avaricious, excitable and sometimes even fanatical, fond of good living, very hospitable to his countrymen, of cheerful disposition and not incapable of appreciating a joke.

Patháns cultivate an aloofness of manners in respect to the natives of this Presidency on whom they look down; on the other hand they are generally avoided by the latter because of their truculent, overbearing manners and the suspicion that most people entertain regarding them. They are as a rule punctilious in the matter of religious observances. They generally swear by the saints 'Pir Bába,' 'Káká Sáheb' and 'Loezwán' (the Bagdád *pir*) and in the case of Swátis by 'Akhun Sáheb.' However, it is well to bear in mind that no criminal Pathán holds any oath as binding.

The Pathán's costume consists of white baggy *paijamas* or trousers, tight at the ankle and very loose above, a loose shirt, a coloured coat or waistcoat of cloth or cotton and a *pagri* or *lungi* worn with or without a *kulah* or skull cap. Some wear the fez in lieu of or under the turban. Sometimes the waistcoat and *kulah* are embroidered. Those in indigent circumstances dye their clothes blue to save washing. Most Patháns are dirty in habits and dress. Some wear their hair long and beards full, others shave or clip according to fancy; others again, specially Mohmands and those from Swát, wear locks of hair, often curled, on the temples.

The Pathán's mother tongue is Pashto. The language spoken by the Western Afgháns, or Burr Pushtánah as they are called, is different from that used by the Eastern Afgháns or Lurr Pushtánah. A marked difference between the two is that the latter pronounce some of the sibilants as gutturals for example 'sh' as 'kh' and 'z' as 'g.' 'Sheen' (meaning green) is pronounced by the Eastern Afgháns (including those who hail from Cábul or Pesháwar side) as 'kheen'; 'Pashto' as 'Pakhto' and 'Khudáe zo' (God knows) as 'Khudáe go.' The frontier dialect is further contaminated by Pesháwari and Panjábi colloquialism.

The Western Afghán's pronunciation is generally softer than that of his brother of the East.

Patháns down country can also speak Hindustani and pick up the language of the district in which they have settled or in which they make any prolonged stay, but their pronun-

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

ciation is generally faulty and few are able to master any language foreign to them with any approach to perfection or without betraying their nationality.

Patháns are believed to have no slang. They have however a system of intercommunication by correspondence whereby a hidden meaning is conveyed through the medium of ordinary language—a sort of cipher arrangement. For instance, "It is useless coming here; the roads are too hot," means "It is no good coming; the police are on the alert." "The weather is nice; send up two or three shawls," means "All is well here; two or three of you come for the work in hand."

The following rough translation of a post-card intercepted by the Ratnágiri police in February 1903 illustrates how correspondence is kept up between individuals belonging no doubt to a common organization and information as to likely areas for exploitation communicated:—

"To—Kásir Khan and Ajim Khán.

From—Lode Khán.

Salaam. I became a servant to Kalud Khán and Mahomed Gul Khán at Chachoda, Malwa in Gwalior State. I was pulling on well and happy in the Bombay vegetable market. I shall come to Bombay to see you at the end of my service here. If by God's grace you write to me write to the following address..... Please let me know the particulars of the market there."

Here 'vegetable market' and 'market' no doubt convey some hidden meaning to the recipient.

The following is a translation of a communication which fell into the hands of the Raipur police in 1902:—

"The medicine is ready; your presence is required. The time is propitious. The sáheb (Circle Inspector) is away. The medicine has been prepared by Lakkar."

Here 'medicine' no doubt means criminal plan or plot arranged by one Lakkar, probably a local bad character.

If they require the assistance of some able-bodied confederates to carry out some important design they will convey their meaning somewhat in the following manner:—

"We have no sticks, so please send three or four stout sticks"; or, "I am in need of money, please send Rs. 10." The 'sticks' and 'rupees' meaning men.

When visiting this Presidency the Pathán, as a rule, makes for some large town where employment is procurable, sets up as an itinerant hawker of sundry goods or as a money-lender. Many of them are employed by *sawkárs* to recover debts or collect rent from backward tenants. The Pathán is generally successful in this line owing to his imposing appearance, uncouth manners, reputation for truculence, tyrannical methods and the tenacity with which he persecutes the recalcitrant debtor.

Ostensible means of livelihood.

A few take up simple contracts for earth-work and the like on railways and sometimes obtain employment as peons and guards in public offices. Others are petty shop-keepers, keep tea shops and refreshment stalls, are grain and firewood dealers, knife grinders, private watchmen and servants and *bāngis* in mosques. Occasionally they adopt the role of religious mendicants and live on the charity of their caste fellows or practise quackery.

Among the well-to-do are money-lenders on a small scale who are invariably given to extortion and tyrannical practices, to recover their dues, exacting exorbitant interest. They are said never to lose sight of a loan, but will reimburse themselves years after it was given, travelling expensive journeys to recover quite a small amount; this keeps up the fear they instil. Their customers are generally the poorer and lower castes such as Mahárs, Mángs, Kolis, Kunbis, Bhils, sweepers, etc., who enjoy no credit with the Márwádi or Bania and who yield to the temptations offered by the Pathán to borrow money without a note-of-hand or any security and, at large railway centres, the subordinate staff. As soon as the month is up the Pathán gives his debtor no peace. He is at his door before day dawns to demand his dues, usually armed with a big stick which he displays in a threatening manner while making his demand in persuasive tones. It is no use the unhappy victim endeavouring to put off his persecutor by asking him to call again, or attempting to evade the interview by urging a pressing engagement elsewhere. The Pathán is not to be baffled by subterfuges of this sort. He will establish himself in the doorway of the house and give the occupants an unpleasant time by his importunities to settle up. He is not devoid of a sense of humour and will meet a request to '*phir kar do*' ('call again,' literally to 'turn and come'), by turning round in a circle where he is standing saying good

humouredly that he has complied with the request ; or, if asked to '*dam pakado*,' i. e., to have patience (literally, to 'hold his breath') he will shut his mouth and hold his nose for a couple of seconds (hence his nickname '*nākdhara*') and urge that he has done what was asked. He can only be got rid of by payment either in full or in part, of principal or interest. Generally he persuades his debtor to pay what is due, and to borrow again immediately after, a facility which he is not loathe to provide. When the victim happens to be a '*sāheb's*' servant, the Pathān may be seen loitering about outside the compound, on the look-out to catch a glimpse of his quarry. The latter becomes instinctively aware of his enemy's presence and finds his duties so pressing inside the bungalow that the Pathān, after hours of patient waiting, retires unsuccessful for the time being but bent on more effective tactics, especially if he happens to know that his victim has received his month's pay. He lies in wait at some convenient distance from the bungalow after dark when he knows the man will venture out either to go to his house, to the shops for his food, or to the bazar to pay other debts, or to indulge in a drink, and when he meets him, soon has his claim satisfied by persuasion or force, if the other party has any money at all on his person.

They do not as a rule, have resort to the civil court to recover debts, preferring their own methods ; but occasionally they do, and when this happens it will usually be found that their claims have been greatly exaggerated, if they are not altogether groundless.

The itinerant hawker deals in cloth, assafoetida, cutlery, pocket-books, dried fruits said to possess medicinal value, drugs, antimony, *mamira*, *nagina*, rings, stones and cheap jewellery, pictures, collyrium and the like. He sometimes plays bagpipes, makes flutes and poses as a musician. Their characteristic way of doing business in the sale of cloth, shawls, etc., is on credit, for some months. When the time is up, usually after the harvest season, the Pathān goes round to recover his dues, and his methods of doing this are the same as those of his money-lending brother. The timid and impecunious villager, cowed by threats and acts calculated to offend his religious susceptibilities and of violence, speedily regrets having ever succumbed to the tempting offers of the Pathān cloth merchant.

It must be remembered that people are generally very ready to buy clothes on credit, or to raise a loan, but when

it comes to payment or repayment, as the case may be, their feelings of gratitude towards an erstwhile friend in need very readily change to resentment against the creditor who is so hard hearted as to worry them for money which it is very inconvenient to pay!

That they are able to prey on the villagers is however due to a great extent to the want of back-bone in the latter who make no sort of stand against these Patháns and are intimidated by and submit to the most absurd proceedings, even wrongful confinement and threats. The villagers are ready to complain but will never come forward to support a charge. Wherever these travelling Patháns exist there is no doubt they exercise tyranny and oppression in their dealings with the villagers and are a nuisance and source of anxiety.

Illustrative of the dread these men are held in, it may be noted that the Márwádi money-lender will on occasion hand over a bond for say Rs. 1,000 to a Pathán who pays Rs. 900 for it and undertakes collection of the outstandings.

Some few deal in horses or set up as shoe-makers and others purchase and export old and new ammunition boots, belts, etc., to their country.

In Gujerat many a Pathán is employed as watchman or *chowkiat* by Pársis and Banias and some are temporarily engaged by one party to a dispute over land to intimidate the opposite side. A small number have taken to cultivation.

In short, Patháns can turn their hands to anything, from trading in any commodity and money-lending, to working as day labourers, drivers of conveyances, watchmen and bullies. But whatever their occupation may be it is almost certain that most supplement their honest earnings by illegal gains derived from the perpetration of crime.

There are of course a large number of Patháns in the native army who have enlisted in the regiments of the Bombay Presidency. Excellent fighting material though no doubt they are, some are certainly black sheep and commit crime. The most favourable opportunity for the latter comes when a regiment under orders for transfer, is about to move.

In so much as they do not commit crime by stealth and their language and appearance proclaims them, the adoption of disguises is not favoured by Patháns nor would any be of much use. Occasionally however they have been

Disguises adopted and means
of identification.

known to put on portions of discarded police uniforms when perpetrating a serious offence, and an instance is known where two, who passed themselves off as Sádhus, were found with house-breaking implements on their persons.

When travelling from one place to another, in order to avoid inconvenient police enquiries, they sometimes change their costume substituting tight trousers or *dhotars* for their baggy *paijamas* and pass themselves off as local Mahomedans.

They change their names frequently and when questioned always give a false account of their movements.

During the actual commission of crime they conceal their faces and discard their characteristic dress in favour of something more in keeping with the costume of the people of the country.

They also endeavour to maintain a strict silence and if required to speak in order to give warning of approaching danger, etc., they use Urdu words and are as brief and to the point as possible.

Patháns when arrested down-country and questioned, generally give the vaguest if not positively incorrect information regarding themselves and their native places. Thus, men from the Baluchistan border will say they come from Pishin (a sub-division of the Quetta district); others from Pesháwar side will aver that they come from Khorásán or Swát Buner; while some will state that their native place is Yaghistan or Yajhistan which merely means independent territory, *i. e.*, the tract of country lying between British India and Afghanistan. To establish the identity of a Pathán, all or as many as possible of the following details are necessary—name, father's name, tribe and sub-section, village, the name of district in which it is situated, *malik* or headman's name, descriptive roll and, if possible, thumb impressions. It should be remembered that there are no police stations in "Independent-territory."

There is ample evidence on record to show that when the

Crime to which addicted.

Pathán travels southward in the garb of a petty hawker or trader, his real mission is crime which not infrequently, beginning with extortion or blackmailing, developes into something more serious, until a small colony of these people terrorize the locality in which they have planted themselves and commit every form of violence and crime which their greed or lust may dictate.

Patháns are principally a source of danger however, because of the organized dacoity on a large scale usually accompanied by great violence, occasionally highway robbery and dacoity, house-breaking and thefts, to which they are addicted.

In Southern India they are much dreaded as temple dacoits; in the north they are reputed to be rifle thieves. They occasionally commit murder or grievous hurt as the result of excitement, in order to wreak vengeance, or during the commission of serious crime.

Most Patháns are receivers of stolen property from local bad characters, some are reported to be note forgers and utterers (though instances that have come to light in this Presidency are few and far between) and not one would resist the temptation to smuggle arms, ammunition and opium if he got the chance.

Passing off ornaments of base metal as genuine and deceiving the unwary by planting some spurious ornament on the road, effecting a 'find' and allowing the dupe to keep it for a consideration, are forms of cheating in which a few cunning Patháns in large towns indulge.

Now and again Patháns employed by *sáwkárs* to collect dues commit criminal breach of trust in respect of money they collect for their master, and decamp.

Here and there they have been suspected of using arsenic and chloroform in the commission of crime.

Possessed as they are of a spirit of arrogance and bullying, they also not infrequently assault public servants in the discharge of their duties. Instances are known of Patháns having enticed away children and relieved them of their ornaments; this form of crime is not however common with them.

Up country, Patháns are credited with being railway thieves and pick-pockets, but so far as is known at present, they have not developed this propensity in this Presidency. Their *modus operandi* appears to be to hover about railway stations and rob passengers sleeping on the platforms, in the passenger sheds or *dharamsálás* and to rob passengers who may drop off to sleep in the trains.

They rarely commit petty crime, their activities being directed rather towards the commission of offences likely to yield a rich harvest.

As a class they are much given to gambling. Patháns from Hashtnagar, Adezai and Matani are, it is said, open to employment as hired assassins.

For information regarding buildings to be burgled, Patháns depend a good deal on gamblers and other local bad characters. They cannot be considered expert house-breakers, their methods being somewhat crude and unskilled. They literally force their way through window or door or enter by making an unusually large hole in the wall and take all they can lay hands on. Sometimes the 'bagli' operation is performed on doors and windows with a large-size gimlet, the first hole being enlarged by a series of others made in the wood-work round the first. Thus, a sufficiently large aperture having been made, the hand is inserted and the fastening undone. If disturbed during operations inside a house, they resort to intimidation and threats, displaying sharp, naked blades to instil fear.

The weapons they carry are, unhesitatingly used if resistance is offered or capture attempted. Should an alarm be raised they decamp and trust to their resemblance to one another to save them from subsequent recognition.

It is when Patháns take to dacoity that their organization and *modus operandi* possess special features. Their preparations for the perpetration of a crime, their clandestine meetings with their 'informers,' their secret consultations and plans for concentration and execution, display great skill and forethought. As a rule one or two local bad characters are taken into confidence and commissioned to obtain useful information and to act as guides. Or one of the conspirators takes up his residence in some locality as a quack or something of the kind with the sole object of prospecting the premises marked down for attack.

The Patháns' ostensible profession of hawker or money-lender has the advantage of enabling them to go about from district to district keeping their eyes and ears open, forming connections with local bad characters and of marking down suitable places to rob. They generally select isolated houses in towns and cities and commit the burglary or dacoity in some force. Occasionally a Pathán when employed as a servant with some wealthy *sáwkár*, after ascertaining all he wants to know, takes leave of his employer on the pretext that he wants to return home. He then organizes a gang and brings off a

successful raid; or perhaps information is communicated to distant friends who, acting thereon, swoop down and loot the servant's master, the informant making a display of loyalty during the attack and remaining in service for some time afterwards to avert suspicion.

If temple raids are contemplated, some Hindu, usually from up-country, posing perhaps as a trader, is employed to prospect the building and acquaint the gang with the ins and outs of the place.

A careful survey of the locality is undertaken by one or two of the leaders and close enquiries as to the nature of resistance likely to be met with are made. A time when the local fire-arms have gone to the police station for registration is an opportunity not to be lost.

Generally the house or temple to be looted is situated somewhere miles distant by rail and road and a rendezvous having been appointed a move is made singly or by twos and threes, to different stations on the line whence a day's march or so brings them to the meeting place.

Being joined here by their local 'informers,' should any have been engaged, they make a start at dusk for the scene of the proposed crime a few miles distant. A Pathán dacoity is rarely carried out without fire-arms, a revolver, if obtainable, being a favourite weapon. The village is entered or temple approached as quietly as possible. If the former boasts of a small police post, steps are taken to prevent assistance issuing from that direction and if practicable fire-arms belonging to the police are forcibly secured. Arrived at their goal, all caution is thrown to the winds and the attack as a rule commences with the breaking in of doors, to the accompaniment of stones hurled in all directions and fire-arms discharged at random. This is intended to and generally succeeds in, paralysing any meditated opposition. The house once entered, boxes, cupboards, etc., are rifled, floors dug up and every nook and crannie searched for ornaments and cash.

Persons found on the premises are maltreated with a view to forcing them to reveal where the treasure is hidden. Should any one offer resistance, woe to him, for the Pathán's lust and blood once aroused, a man's life is of no account. As a rule Patháns do not outrage women. An hour or two may elapse ere the intruders emerge having ransacked the building and secured everything of value they could lay hands on. The

gang then decamps across fields and through jungle paths often putting ten or fifteen miles between themselves and the scene of crime before a halt is called. Each member of the party then submits to search, the spoils are valued and shares apportioned. This completed the gang splits up, members returning, as they came, to their respective abodes by devious routes.

When crime is rife in a district, Pathans take advantage of the opportunity to be specially active, trusting that their misdeeds will be attributed to the local bad characters and when they combine with these, they lend a very undesirable stiffening to their less robust confederates. They will often lead ostensibly respectable lives for years on end, completely hoodwinking the police and when their opportunity arrives will bring off a dacoity on a large scale and clear out.

Occasionally ponies are made use of by some of a gang when proceeding to and returning from the scene of a dacoity.

One form of theft is perhaps peculiar to Pathans. Under the pretext of looking for old coins of a certain year, or exchanging foreign coins for British rupees, they visit some shroff's place of business or some ordinary shop and asking for coins of the kind they pretend to be on the look-out for or require and promising a small commission, they induce the money-changer or shop-keeper to show any specimens he may have or produce cash, as the case may be. While examining the coins they secrete one or two, perhaps about their persons, when the owner's attention is diverted and then make off.

Pathans are absolutely staunch to each other and will not, as a rule, split, and if one of the gang is in difficulties others will generally try to save him. If implicated in a serious case they sometimes resist arrest by the police and should always be very carefully guarded when in custody.

Individuals are difficult to identify as all are so alike to the simple villager, and when questioned, they assume the most childlike innocence and pretend not to understand.

In a case of a Pathan dacoity or house-breaking in which the inmates are roused, it is usually easy to determine the perpetrators of the crime. Pathans cannot effectively conceal their identity and are easily recognized as such by the complainants, nor can they move about the country without being noticed.

Their impunity lies chiefly in the great distances from which they usually operate and the extent of the area from which the gang concentrates and over which it afterwards disperses.

The Pathán at the best of times is somewhat of a wolf among sheep in this part of India and his hereditary instincts as a frontier tribesman are to regard predatory expeditions as quite an honourable means of livelihood.

In respect to cheating by deceiving the unwary with some bogus ornament 'found' on the road, their methods are very similar to those of the Vaghri, except that in the case of the Pathán *he* picks up the valuable and after much discussion consents to his dupe keeping it for whatever cash the latter is prepared to part with.

Highway robbery and dacoity is not so common among Pathán criminals as dacoities and crimes of violence in buildings. Their methods in the commission of road dacoity and robbery show no characteristic difference from those of local criminals. As a rule, however, they will not exploit a road on chance. They plan a highway dacoity on definite information promising a good haul, and robbery is usually committed without premeditation and on the spur of the moment.

Criminal breach of trust is usually committed by the Pathán servant of a money-lender after the former has, by his honesty in the discharge of his duty, gained the confidence of his employer. The *sawkār* entrusts him with a commission to make an unusually large amount of collections. This is the dishonest Pathán's opportunity. He abuses the trust reposed in him, collects the money and disappears.

They are artful and versatile in their methods of smuggling arms and ammunition. Sometimes the articles are cleverly concealed about the person, at others in innocent looking packages or bundles or consignments which would ordinarily never excite suspicion. A revolver and fifty-nine cartridges have been found in a railway passenger's bundle, made up of a "Koran" wrapped up in six coloured handkerchiefs, the weapon and cartridges being placed between the leaves of the book. Similarly one hundred and three revolver cartridges have been found concealed in the stuffing of a pillow taken on a railway journey.

In the years 1898 and 1899 a series of burglaries accompanied with loss of property, consisting of jewellery and

valuable cloths, took place in Poona city and cantonments. Churches and residences of Europeans were mostly burgled. During the course of the police enquiry suspicion was directed against Pathán sepoys of a regiment stationed at Poona, and in consequence of reliable information, the quarters and the baggage packed up and about to leave by rail of a Subhedar of the regiment, his orderly and two other privates were searched with the result that property stolen from the churches and residences mentioned above and house-breaking implements were recovered from the Subhedar's quarters and the baggage. Four Patháns belonging to the regiment, including the Subhedar and two outsiders, were eventually placed on their trial, all—excepting the Subhedar who got off owing to some technical flaw in the evidence—were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

This illustrates the remarks already made in this note that with all their qualifications as soldiers some of the Pathán element in native regiments is not altogether above suspicion.

When committing dacoity Patháns arm themselves with stout sticks (sometimes iron-ringed), knives or daggers, swords, fire-arms, specially pistols and even revolvers if they can procure them. They have also been known to carry axes and crowbars which are occasionally left at the scene of the offence or are thrown away during the retreat.

Patháns have no house-breaking implement peculiar to themselves. They make use of anything they can get hold of, such as crowbars, iron nails, spikes, gimlets, etc., according to fancy and usually carry knives, sticks, frequently candles, matches and keys.

Scales and weights and appliances for melting gold and silver are occasionally found in the houses of criminal Patháns.

They are very distrustful of one another when it comes to a division of spoil and are impatient to receive their shares. Stolen property is therefore, as a rule, divided immediately after the commission of a crime. If the gang happens to be composed of intimate friends, this rule may possibly be departed from and apportioning of shares deferred till valuables have been disposed of by sale by one or two of the leading spirits.

Stock-in-trade, instruments and weapons used in committing crime.

Ways and means of concealing and disposing of stolen property.

When returning from the scene of a crime by rail, Patháns, knowing they are objects of suspicion with the police and liable to search at any moment, are reported to occasionally entrust stolen property to some friendly local Mahomedan for conveyance, rather than carry it themselves. When this plan is adopted the man with the booty travels by the same train but in a different compartment altogether.

An instance has come under notice from the Central Provinces Police Gazette which shows that Patháns are capable of concealing coins under their testicles : the necessity therefore for very close search of Patháns arrested on suspicion is obvious.

Márwádis, Bohras, Khojas, Gujars, goldsmiths, shroffs, local Mahomedans and money-lenders, etc., are according to circumstances their ' receivers.' Loot obtained by crime in one part of India is frequently disposed of in another.

Property is sometimes sent home in charge of a trusted friend or relative when it is carried secreted on the person, in a *guda* (leather bag to carry provisions) or the baggage.

Where property cannot be disposed of immediately without risk, it is buried under ground or concealed in the manner common to most criminals, though experience shows that this is not always done. In one important case part of the loot was found some days after the crime on the person of one of the culprits. When concealed under ground, property and incriminating articles are usually very cunningly buried, for instance, in houses under cooking places, or in front of the house with plants grown over the spot, and so on. They are generally buried deep.

Sansis and Berias.

Sansis and Berias are Hindus belonging to one main stock and descended from two brothers. Name of criminal class or tribe. They are divided into two principal clans, Málha and Bidhoo or Kálkar, which are again sub-divided into a number of *goths*, the best known of which are as under :—

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------|
| Jhojha. | Gaddo. | Popat. |
| Belia. | Kothan. | Sádha. |
| Patia. | Dhápo. | Bhura. |
| Gehela. | Raichand. | Bhána. |
| Chandoowáda. | Syáhán. | Dursa. |
| Tamáichi. | Dahiya. | |

Sansis are also known by different names in this Presidency and other provinces, for instance as Sānsi Kanjars, Adodiyas, Popats, Ghāgarías, Ghāgra Paltan, Hādkutias, Chhāras, Geedhiyes, Haboodes, Kajarhatiyes, Kanchires, Chirokharwáls, Bhánthus or Bhántoodes, Kanjar Bediyas, Pomblas, Bāgorias and Unchálainga (*i. e.*, short petticoat) or Bailwále Kanjars.

A wandering tribe, they have no special habitat nor apparently any permanent interests or connections anywhere, though in Bharatpur and Dholpur States, it is understood, steps have been taken to settle some of the tribe.

They are to be met with practically all over India. Sansis are a wandering class. They travel about in gangs of varying strength with their families, bullocks, cows, male buffaloes, donkeys, ponies, sheep, goats and dogs. The last mentioned of these animals are usually small mongrels with a terrier strain, mostly stolen or bred from types dishonestly obtained during their peregrinations. Sansis never put up in towns or villages; they invariably encamp two or three miles off, away from the beaten track and in the vicinity of a water-supply, and if possible within easy reach of the cover of jungle or crops, in any case on a site where surprise is not easy. They shun all habitations, temples, *dharamsálás* and the like. Each encampment or *dera* has

a headman known as 'náik' or 'sarganah.' He is socially and criminally their leader, is selected on his capabilities as such, and whether he participates in a crime or not, is entitled to a five per cent. tribute in addition to an equal share in the spoils with the rest of the gang. Sânsis live in páls or *sarkis* (grass screens). Gangs are more or less inactive in respect to movements, during the monsoon, pitching their camp near some small village in a locality where they may have made friends among the village or local police; but for purposes of crime the able-bodied avail themselves of breaks in the monsoon to leave camp and commit offences. With the expiry of the rainy season they resume their wanderings. It often happens that several gangs concentrate during the monsoon at some pre-arranged place. On such occasions their numerical strength including the families runs to even hundreds. Ordinarily, individual gangs do not exceed twenty families.

With the exception of sheep-lifting, they are careful not to commit crime in any village while in camp near it. In the event of a promising house in such a village being noted, Sânsis will remove their encampment ten or fifteen miles, or even to a greater distance, and allow some time to elapse before burgling it.

In pursuit of crime, men in small gangs freely utilize the railways, making long journeys both by road and by rail, covering sometimes as much as forty or fifty miles on foot to regain their encampment. When men leave their *deras* by rail, there is no limit to the sphere of their activities; by road their field of operations ordinarily extends to a radius of thirty to fifty miles.

As a class, Sânsis and Berias are of medium build and stature, strong, wiry and agile. They are determined and ruthless in the commission of crime. Their women are often slender, good-looking and well formed, those of the Berias being of a coarser type, dirtier and more untidy.

Sânsis generally allow the beard to grow and wear their hair long, but latterly have taken to shaving both head and chin. Berias, except for the moustache and a tuft of hair on the skull, are clean shaved. Berias always sleep on cots; Sânsis seldom. Beria women go about begging; Sânsi women as a rule do not. Beria women generally wear dirty white clothes and do not wear bangles though very occasionally an

individual will be found wearing a metal wristlet; Sânsi women object to wearing white cloth and always wear glass, wood or cocoanut-shell bangles.

The male's dress consists of a *dhoti*, *kurta* or shirt, sometimes an old coat and a *feita* tied in the up-country fashion. Berias wear white or brick-coloured *dhotis* according to taste. Both Sânsis and Berias tie this garment in the *âdband* or knotted fashion, so known by reason of a peculiar knot which they bring to the front. Round the neck they wear a necklace of two or more strands composed of red *moonga* (coral) and gold beads and a *jhooja* which is a square pendant or charm, resting on the chest, of silver or gold according to circumstances, and bearing an effigy of a man on horse-back intended to represent either Râmdevpir or some one of the wearer's progenitors. Sometimes a *jhooja* contains more effigies than one, but always of figures on horse-back. The *jhooja* is an object of veneration.

The woman's dress consists of a short *ghâgra* or petticoat, like that worn by Mâr wâdi women with a border round the bottom, *kurti*, *angia* or bodice and an *odni*. Their ornaments are those of the fashion worn in Mâr wâd, with the addition of a *cheed* (a pendant formed of a 'Kaldâr' rupee from the sides of which silver beads are hung as additional ornamentation, the rupee being suspended round the neck by a necklace of glass beads and resting on the chest). Both Sânsi and Beria women wear a *lavang* (clove) in the left nostril. The former wear a *bullâq* (pendant or drop) in the *septum* (fleshy division between the nostrils) of the nose; Beria women do not. The women of both divisions are much given to the use of *missi* (black tooth-powder). Both men and women wear shoes, usually with uppers all round.

Sânsis eat all sorts of flesh except that of the jackal and their encampments will usually be found to contain plenty of dried meat in bags and fat in earthen pots. Berias eschew beef and fish. Both classes are excessively fond of liquor, smoke tobacco, *gânja* and *bhâng*. Beria women and children smoke *hookahs* like men; Sânsi women will not. Women of both divisions are very fond of snuff.

The Sânsis' idea of morality is not very high though in this respect they are superior to Berias.

Among the latter their *deras* or encampments are sometimes named after some woman who is a prostitute, but among Sânsis, usually after their 'sarganah.'

The Sânsis or Chhâras met with in Gujerat are the dirtiest of the class. Their women as often as not wear *sutnas* or *paijâmas* and *kurtas* in lieu of the *ghâgra* and *kurti*. They are known among Sânsis as Popliyes.

All Sânsi and Beria women are, as a rule, tattooed on the nose, chin, temples, chest, wrist, arms and calves; men on one or other of the shoulders (at the point) and on the wrist, posterior, in the form of a scorpion or dagger etc. Both sexes are branded on the chest and stomach during childhood.

They are very quarrelsome and when in their cups often fall out and fight among themselves, the result being that a Sânsi's head generally bears numerous scars.

The most binding oath to a Sânsi is that taken on 'Ganga' or 'Kâlka.' The former is taken by raising a pot containing water, salt, charcoal and *jawâri* grains and swearing to speak the truth; the latter by pouring a little liquor on the ground out of a bottle while affirming.

Sânsis admit all castes into their own.

A successful haul is usually followed by feasting and drinking.

In cunning and daring, Sânsis and Berias are equally dangerous. They are exceedingly stubborn and reticent under examination though easily opened by an 'informer' and become talkative under the influence of liquor.

Children questioned separately and searchingly by an experienced officer, will often supply information which their elders cannot be persuaded to disclose.

Sânsis and Berias have a peculiar nasal sing-song dialect of their own which is intelligible only to Kanjars. It is a mongrel of Hindi or a 'Brij-bhâsha' and Gujerati. A noticeable peculiarity in the speech of a Beria as distinct from a Sânsi, is the habitual use of the word 'bowdey' (which has no meaning) interlarded in their talk. All Sânsis and Berias can speak Hindustani fluently.

Dialect and peculiarities
of speech.

Slang and signs used.

They have an extensive code of slang terms. The following are some :—

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| nánd, | ... village. |
| kháka | ... dacoity. |
| khola | ... house. |
| baiyya | ... road. |
| kháwar | ... burglary. |
| kharách, rihilla | ... implement of house-breaking. |
| gemmi | ... theft. |
| bootna | ... to loot. |
| dhammál, khamáya | ... booty. |
| cheewad | ... constable. |
| nhanedár | ... police officer. |
| balva | ... rupee. |
| dokhla, nissa | ... copper coins. |
| pánkhli | ... mohur (sovereign). |
| chántoo | ... a Sání. |
| chatáni | ... a Sání woman. |
| khadbi jesar | ... hide yourself. |
| nija khadbar lé | ... hide stolen article. |
| nija | ... stolen article. |
| banki jesar | ... run away. |
| nhorí | ... knife. |
| bonna | ... gold. |
| bándi | ... silver. |
| kalloo, ginai | ... liquor. |
| khekh | ... meat. |
| khaddan | ... day. |
| kurat | ... night. |
| tewa | ... gang. |
| ráli dé | ... melt it down. |
| nodi dé | ... break it up. |
| khanaik | ... leader. |
| rhabardár roghio | ... be on the alert. |
| lothi redo | ... strike, beat. |
| rhossi lé, binni lé | ... snatch off. |
| teeppi, tuk | ... bread. |
| chhungli | ... gun. |
| chimdi | ... sword. |
| namicha | ... pistol. |
| lod | ... bullock. |
| nálsi, kowri | ... cow. |
| koodra | ... horse. |
| redhi | ... donkey. |
| beli | ... goat. |
| khadhebri | ... sheep. |
| hetta | ... a man (from another caste). |
| hetti | ... a woman (from another caste). |
| nokidar | ... chowkidar. |
| natel | ... patil. |
| chekdi liya | ... arrested. |
| rhoda | ... jail. |

| Slang. | Meaning. |
|-----------------------|--|
| rhudai lo | ... rescue him. |
| nhaja, dáeli | ... conviction. |
| nhook | ... bribe. |
| bek | ... one. |
| dhór | ... two. |
| ther | ... three. |
| chog | ... four. |
| nách | ... five. |
| nhé | ... six. |
| nhát | ... seven. |
| kot | ... eight. |
| khano | ... nine. |
| khas | ... ten. |
| khabis | ... twenty. |
| khatís | ... thirty. |
| nális | ... forty. |
| nachás | ... fifty. |
| nhát | ... sixty. |
| khassi | ... eighty. |
| nho | ... hundred. |
| kongal | ... thousand. |
| netti, nhandook | ... box. |
| nodí redo | ... break it open. |
| rhabar | ... information. |
| rophia, ropiya | ... sling. |
| khanadi | ... river. |
| rhál | ... nállah. |
| nharai | ... sarai. |
| kharuk | ... tree. |
| khadartiyáma raddi dé | ... bury in the ground. |
| kharách redia sar | ... put the house-breaking implement out of the way. |

At junctions and cross-roads Sânsis indicate the route taken, by making small heaps of earth, say five or six, at intervals of a cubit along the road followed. When striking across country the track taken is marked by leaves strewn along the ground at intervals.

Sânsis and Berias profess to subsist by begging. Women go in for dancing, playing on the *sârangi*, *chikâra* (string instruments), *dholâk* (drum), etc. Some Berias make money by the prostitution of their girls.

Perhaps it is superfluous to state that Sânsis and Berias invariably adopt different names at different times and will never give a true account of their movements or

Ostensible means of livelihood.

Disguises adopted and means of identification.

where they hail from. Sometimes they say Jodhpur, sometimes Márwád, and so on.

The men when unencumbered by families, dress themselves up in superior clothing and pass themselves off as Thákores, Ahirs, Bhois, Rajputs, Kahárs, Játs, Kunbis or Purbias and the disguise is usually excellent.

When accompanied by their families, they generally pass themselves off as Gujerati Bháts (bards of the Ját tribe from Márwád or of the Kolis from Gujerat), Saláts or as Nats (often Karnati, *i.e.*, Carnatic) and beggars from Dheds and Bhangis. Occasionally they pretend to be dealers in cattle, grain etc.

Sometimes according to circumstances, they pretend to be sweepers, Mális or Káchis, and when exploiting a railway they not infrequently dress up as women and travel in compartments reserved for females.

During the commission of an offence by day, they muffle their faces to conceal their features.

Highway dacoity and cart robbery are their specialities.

Crime to which addicted.

They sometimes also indulge in house dacoity. They are also addicted to house breaking, tent thieving, looting encampments and isolated huts, cattle and sheep lifting (by day or by night), theft of all sorts including standing crops and other agricultural produce.

The railways are not immune from their depredations, for they are reported to be given to thieving from passengers and looting goods trains.

The women and children are habitual thieves and pilferers.

Beria women are more criminal than their sisters of the Sânsi variety. They commit all sorts of thefts and break open the locks of unoccupied houses by day and steal whatever they can lay hands on inside.

Dacoity.

Sânsis never admit outsiders to their confidence nor do they employ outsiders to scout for them.

Methods employed in committing crime, and distinguishing characteristics likely to afford a clue.

Information is obtained by one or two clever members of the gang, which usually does not exceed twenty in number. Their spies prowl about the stages where travellers halt and ascertain if any wedding or other party likely to prove lucrative prey is on a journey; if so, further particulars,

such as the time of starting, the road to be taken, the strength of the party, and so on, are carefully elicited. Laying their plans accordingly the gang starts ahead and takes up a good position in a suitable locality timing to deliver their attack after dusk and before day-break, or even during day-light if the country is favourable. On the approach of their quarry, the gang rushes out of hiding and delivers the attack.

Information regarding houses to be dacoited is obtained in a similar manner. A member of the gang loiters about near a tank, well or ghát and observing a woman with valuable jewellery on her person follows her to her house, prospects it and communicates the result of his enquiries to his friends. A Sânsi is adept at gauging, from the general appearance of the house, the probable wealth of the inmates.

Primed with the necessary information and having arranged preliminaries, they make for the dwelling decided on. About a mile or so from the scene of the proposed crime, perhaps near a tree, well or in some broken ground, the gang call a halt, deposit their superfluous clothing and other articles and having made final preparations for the raid, they make direct for the village or the scene of offence. The attack opens with the hurling of stones. Individual members take up positions in conformity with the leader's instructions. In road dacoities, two men guard the approaches from both directions, while the main body armed with sticks, often freshly cut, slings, stones, knives, and hatchets, deliver the attack. While this is going on, should it be necessary to address one another by way of encouragement or otherwise, Hindustani words with a 'Purbhia' accent are used. In house raids, streets and lanes are specially guarded. The leader and the bulk of the gang carry out the actual attack. Doors are forced open with hatchets. Women are first searched and divested of their ornaments. Sânsis do not, as a rule, outrage females. Male occupants are forced to disclose where the valuables are hidden. Boxes and other receptacles are broken open and rifled. Any resistance on the part of the party attacked is overcome by force, though unnecessary violence is avoided unless in a tight place when Sânsis and Berias will not hesitate to proceed to extremes, even to homicide. An hour or so may elapse before the gang makes off with the booty acquired. A short halt is called at the place where their clothes and other articles were left and thereafter the retreat is resumed with all speed. Stolen property is consigned to the care of

one or two members of the gang; it is concealed underground near every halting place and unearthed when the march is continued. Distribution of the spoil is put off till the *dera* has been reached and the property can be turned into cash. The 'nâik' is responsible for its safe custody and disposal. Before receiving their respective shares, each member of the gang has to swear on 'Ganga' or 'Kâlka' that he has not retained any of the 'loot.'

Sânsis are often reckless in respect to dacoity and will sometimes bring one off even during day-light in a place of public resort and gathering such as fair, *dharamsâlâ*, railway passenger shed and the like.

House-breaking.

This is not so favourite a form of crime with the class as highway dacoity. Information is obtained and houses and their surroundings are very carefully reconnoitred in the manner already described with a view to deciding on the place where entrance is to be effected, securing a line of retreat etc. before the burglary is embarked on. In common with other criminals, Sânsis operate on the very dark nights only. The house is reached quietly after midnight, the adjoining lanes and approaches are picketted to guard against surprise while the midnight intruder is at work. Entry is effected either by breaking through a window or making a hole in the wall, either in the 'bagli' or 'rumâli' fashion, with an implement known among them as a *kharâch* (a jemmy about a foot long with a knob, the latter sometimes covered with leather, the business end flattened out and steel-tipped), or with a butcher's knife, spear-head or any large nail. The thieves are usually armed with *lâthis*, stones and slings. One man (specially selected on account of his dexterity) usually enters the house; before stepping through the hole, the well known precaution of intruding a stick round the end of which a cloth is wrapped, is resorted to in order to ascertain whether the inmates are on the alert. A cloth is held across the hole of ingress lest the cold air should disturb a slumberer and the star-light attract the attention of any of the inmates. One of the gang standing outside keeps up a flicking with his finger against the wall to indicate to his confederate inside that all is well and also to keep the latter informed of the line of retreat should he lose his bearings. The man who enters the building carries, in a small tin, a rag rolled into a wick and oiled

or saturated with *ghi*, also some phosphorous matches. He is usually armed with a knife (table variety or bladed). On entering the house he lights his taper and takes stock of the position of sleepers, the contents of the room and the situation of other apartments. He then extinguishes the light and creeps forward in a half erect posture to satisfy himself that the slumberers are sound asleep. He then hands small receptacles out to his comrades and breaks open boxes too heavy to lift, quickly passing out their contents. Having ransacked the house he emerges by the opening or door he entered by. If perchance heavy receptacles have to be passed out, one or two of the gang from outside are requisitioned to assist. Before advancing into an inner room the taper is again lighted, the room is inspected and the light put out. They lift everything they can lay their hands on, cash, jewellery, clothes, utensils and even eatables, if the *dera* is close by, but if far off only the two first mentioned. They are very clever at removing ornaments from the persons of sleeping females without disturbing them. If disappointed in the spoils obtained, they throw discretion to the winds and tear off ornaments difficult to detach and make a bolt for it. Those on the watch outside never desert their comrades inside and will show fight rather than allow the latter to be caught inside the house. Should people sleeping in the house be disturbed and raise an alarm, the intruders make off and do not use violence unless molested. A shroud is believed by Sansis and Berias to possess a certain mystic power. Therefore some gangs use one, pilfered from a burning ghât, when committing house-breaking to wave over sleeping forms in a house, in the belief that this action will prevent slumberers being disturbed while the burglar is at work.

Sheep and Cattle Lifting.

Sheep and cattle are stolen at travellers' halting stages, from cattle-sheds, sheep-pens, and in the open while grazing. A refractory animal in a shed is approached under cover of a quiet one, a rope is thrown round its horns and it is then driven off. The theft of valuable though fractious animals thus often excites surprise in the neighbourhood.

Sheep in a pen are first felt over and fat ones selected. Whether the sheep are in sheds or in pens in the open, no special precautions are adopted in approaching them.

When working on railways their methods are as follow—From goods trains, bags are lifted off open trucks either by men boarding the trains when going slow and throwing off the bags, or by dragging the bags by means of grappling irons or long sticks tipped with iron hooks or catches.

Thefts from passenger trains are committed at night, stolen property being thrown out of the window to be picked up afterwards; or an ornament is snatched from the person of a woman sitting near the window, or a bundle temptingly placed within easy reach from outside is lifted as the train starts.

When dealing with a gang of Sânsis or Berias it goes without saying that it is desirable to separate individuals from one another as soon as possible before interrogating them and to keep them apart so as to prevent their making signs to one another.

The able-bodied men are rarely to be found in the *dera* during the day-time; they usually lie low in some handy ravine or jungle not far off.

Berias and Sânsis associate together for purposes of crime.

Police search of Beria and Sânsi encampments should be carried out in force as the women particularly, are very boisterous, embarrass the officers by divesting themselves of their clothes, pulling at the officer's clothes, catching up children and threatening to brain them and, in the case of Beria women, micturating and splashing the police with urine. If outnumbered the police are likely to be assaulted by the men and turned out of the encampment.

In jurisdictions where the Arms Act is not in force, Sânsis

Stock-in-trade, instruments
and weapons employed in com-
mitting crime.

and Berias carry, in addition to other weapons of offence, swords and firearms for criminal purposes. Elsewhere, *lâthis*, slings, stones, sticks, knives and hatchets are their usual armament during the commission of crimes of violence. The burglar's paraphernalia consist of the *kharâch* described above, a knife, an old spear-head, or a large iron spike or the iron peg used for tethering cattle, matches, the taper mentioned above, sticks, stones and slings.

Stolen property is not, as a rule, distributed among the members of the gang till it is converted into cash. Pending disposal, it is buried some distance from their *dera* or encampment near an ant-heap or some tree in the bank of a *nallah* and similar places. If it is buried in the encampment, the favourite places are under the fire-place, near the pegs to which cattle are tethered, and in the case of Sânsis under the stands on which they stack their belongings; in the case of Berias under their beds.

Ways and means of concealing and disposing of stolen property.

Sometimes stolen jewellery and cash are sewn up in quilts and pack-saddles and pads or are concealed in earthen pots, vessels or sacks containing tainted, dried fat and meat where inquisitive Hindu police officers are not likely to be eager to make any search. When moving camp their receptacles are carried on the backs of bullocks or ponies and it is then that a search is likely to prove fruitful.

Articles of special value that have been concealed underground near the encampment are, as a rule, removed by two or three of the gang (who return for the purpose at night) to the next halting place where they are again consigned to the ground.

Their 'receivers' are mostly among goldsmiths, Banias, liquor-vendors, shroffs, sometimes even *pâtîls* and *patwâris*.

Stolen cattle are killed and eaten or sold at distant markets; if identification is not feared, they are sometimes used as pack-animals.

Lifted goats and sheep are immediately slain and consumed.

Sânsi and Beria women should always be thoroughly searched by female searchers, especially in the natural passages, for small articles of value and cash.

The *ghâgras* of women also require thorough investigation as the voluminous folds usually conceal a capacious pocket used for hiding stolen property.

Before abandoning the search of a Beria encampment it will always be as well to unrope cots and beds and carefully examine the wood-work for hollows likely to contain dishonestly acquired property.

When the police are searching a *dera* it will probably repay the trouble if women or children sent off on apparently

innocent errands, such as to fetch water etc., are quietly followed up, caught and searched, because under such pretences Sânsis and Berias make away, under the noses of the police so to say, with incriminating articles or property. Lastly, it will always be advisable to plough up the site of a Sânsi or a Beria encampment before search is relinquished.

Individual members of a gang will sometimes leave a portion of the proceeds of their crimes buried, as convenient at different places in the country traversed by them, but never, it is alleged, even after the lapse of years, do they make a mistake in returning to the exact spot to recover their ill-gotten gains.

Every male member of a gang is entitled to a share in all 'loot,' no matter whether he has taken an active part in the crime or not. Widows and wives of men in jail receive half shares.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Langoti Pardees.

The following note on Langoti Pardees by Mr. J. T. B. D. Sewell, District Superintendent of Police, Amraoti, is of general interest. Chapters II and III of Gunthorpe's "Notes on Criminal Tribes" should be read with this; as though many of the customs etc. referred to therein have changed, still it will be easier to trace the details from a comparison of the two compilations, the former of which was written about thirty years ago.

1. Pardees are frequently classed with Takenkars as if they were much the same kind of people: they may have been originally, but are now as distinct as possible. Pardees are Bowries, Takenkars are Wagris. It is not proposed to enter upon an ethnological discussion, but merely to classify these people from a police point of view.

The Pardees have long hair. The Takenkars only wear the *shendi* like other Hindus. The former do not wash after easing themselves, but use a stone or grass, etc., if anything, though it is alleged that mixing with Kunbis and others they are now taking to healthier customs.

Pardees invariably wear the *langoti*—hence their name. Takenkars dress like other Hindus.

2. Langoti Pardees must never be confused with Phas Pardees or Cheetawallas, as beyond the fact that they originally came from the same source, they are quite distinct.

Phas Pardees, in spite of the opinions of European sportsmen not unwilling to see them 'moved on,' do not commit crime, and are quite harmless.

3. The Pardees (and unless specially mentioned to the contrary, the Langoti Pardees are always meant) are subdivided into (1) Chowan, (2) Pohar and (3) Salonki. As a rule they marry girls from another class, thus a Chowan would marry a Pohar girl, and so on. Chowans worship 'Amba,' Powars worship 'Mari Mata,' and Salonkis 'Kali.' All their deities are called 'Bowani' and, as Gunthorpe says, they are very religious.

4. It is said that Chowan females will not ride in a cart or drink liquor. Powar women may *not* ride in a cart, but may drink liquor: and they will not eat anything which lives in water. Salonki women only draw the line at wearing red clothes.

5. Though Pardees talk Maráthi and Urdu fluently, their original language is *Gujerati* and their talk is said to resemble that of men newly arrived from *Gujerat*.

6. Men of Kunbi, Mali, Teli and other superior castes may be accepted as Pardees, but the conversion of Muham-madans, Dhobis, Mahárs, Mángs, etc., is prohibited.

7. It will be seen that Gunthorpe says women may not wear silver anklets: my information is that wearing of silver 'below the waist' is the forbidden rule. I am told it is only the Salonki women who may not wear red. No Pardee woman may hang her *sári* on a wall or peg, but it must always be kept on the ground: a worn *sári* being impure must not be allowed on the same level as Bhowani.

8. Pardees always feed with their women and not before, as is the custom with other people. This is due to a woman having in olden times poisoned her husband and children.

9. The *pipal* tree is held specially sacred. There is a legend about this tree which connects with the custom of refraining from the use of water after answering a call of nature:—

"A Pardee went on a journey and being fatigued lay down and slept under a *pipal* tree which grew beside a river. On waking up he went and eased himself, going to the river to wash. By accident he scooped up a *pipal* leaf in the water he used, and therefrom resulted a grievous sore at his anus from which he suffered much torment and was like to die. Then he had a vision: the Devi appeared to him and told him his troubles arose from the disrespect he had shown the *pipal* tree. The man confessed his crime, did penance before the *pañcháyat* and was instantly cured of his sore. Since then, however, water has been discarded for that particular purpose."

10. As Gunthorpe says, "the new generation have taken to burglary" and that dacoity used to be their occupation. This is certainly interesting as showing that it is not only "ladies' fashions" which repeat themselves. In the course of conversation with an informer of about 35 years of age (evidently one of Gunthorpe's 'new generation'), he told me distinctly that whereas all his class had habitually committed burglary they

had to a certain extent given this up and taken to dacoity. The reason being that the police got horribly inquisitive in the matter of burglaries, every burglary (probably rightly so) being attributed to Pardees : so that since 1896, the first famine year, his class had largely gone in for dacoity in place of burglary : they found it more social and easier. He didn't remember his folk going in for dacoity in the olden days, but they may have.

11. Pardees do not, as a rule, injure the people they attack : if all goes well and complainants give no trouble, then they do not hurt them, but they are quite ready and, if people resist, they will not hesitate to beat them. Ordinarily when committing dacoity they are armed with sticks and stones only.

12. In committing burglarly they do not take any pride in the hole they make, nor have they any particular mode of breaking through from which the work could be recognised as theirs.

They sometimes will dig nearly through a wall, leaving only a thin partition against which the leader will carefully listen before finally bursting through. Then when a whole is made big enough to get through, the leader strikes a match which he holds between finger and thumb, with his fingers stretched out so as to form a shade, and holding this in front of him so that his features are shielded, he has a good survey of the room before entering.

13. Pardees when about to leave their village for any purpose get a 'pass' from the *pâtîl* : this is called taking *dakhla* and is an informal business altogether, which was no doubt introduced by some zealous police officer. The system has in a way defeated its own object, and yet somehow with the swing of the pendulum it may almost be said to have effected it in a way not anticipated.

The *dakhla* was supposed not to be given except for legitimate purposes : consequently a Pardee absent from his village produced his *dakhla* as proof he was occupied innocently : the *pâtîl* also corroborated. Hence the abuse of the system. It has, however, been found that a Pardee never bothers about getting *dakhla* unless he means crime. Hence if a pass has been taken out it may be believed without doubt that the Pardee has left his village to commit crime. Experience shows that the *pâtîl* in almost every instance is aware of the real motive for which the pass is taken out.

14. Without wishing to be unfair to the village officer, I record it as my fixed belief (founded on information given me by many police officers of long service and exceptional experience and on statements made to me by Pardees themselves, and on statements by other responsible persons, and from my observation in cases that have come before me) that where Pardees live, there they live chiefly by crime, and that committed with the knowledge of the village *pâtîl*, usually a 'receiver' of stolen property: where there is more than one *pâtîl* then one at least of the *pâtîls* is a 'receiver.'

15. It is quite impossible to bring their guilt home to these 'respectable' aiders and abettors, because in every village there are either 'factions' or 'no factions' and in the former case the evidence to be obtained is too tainted, while in the latter case no evidence at all will be got. The only way to cure the evil is through the Revenue authorities. That the Pardee is a habitual criminal is undeniable: he does not labour, he can't and won't; his hands are as soft as any clerk's, and prove he does no manual labour in the fields, which is what he professes to do. Village *pâtîls* must be led to understand that until it is established that Pardees have taken to honest modes of living their presence in a village will tend to harm a *pâtîl's* reputation.

16. Pardees occasionally convene what are called 'deokarias.' These are meetings at which 'ways and means' are discussed as well as caste disputes settled, and results of past offences related. Much food is eaten and liquor drunk. At these 'deokarias' there is no fixed ritual. Sometimes a buffalo is offered up, and as the flesh cannot be eaten by them or thrown away, it is given to a lower class of the Bowri tribe called Hadoti, which lives in Hyderabad, Deccan territory, some of whom are sent for.

17. The penalty for nearly every offence is a fine of so much liquor: that resulting from a man's sin is drunk by the men and that paid up by the women is drunk by the women.

The left ear of both men and women guilty of adultery is cut with a razor. A Pardee guilty of sexual intercourse with a prostitute is punished as if he had committed adultery. Pardee females are said to be virtuous. I have not had this verified, but am assured it is so.

18. At the 'deokaria' a large fry-pan called *karai* is brought in and *ghi* and sugar cooked. Sweetmeats are taken

out of the boiling oil by any Pardee who is pious or who is 'seized by the goddess'; he uses his hand instead of a spoon or other implement. To be able to do so is synonymous with virtue or integrity. An ear-cut Pardee is not allowed near the *karai* nor may his shadow fall over it.

19. Like all such people Pardees have their 'ordeals' and 'omens.' One test is as follows:—An accused person having taken oath is told to take out a rupee and a knife from a vessel of water placed within a space marked off with a circle—called a *kund*. He delivers these to the *panch*. There is no direct manifestation, but if the man be guilty, he will be afraid to touch the knife as his conscience tells him the goddess will punish him if he does.

20. Another test is for the accused to take a knife and going into water up to his chest or neck to there take oath of the goddess.

21. Yet another is for two men to stand within circles drawn in the sand of a river-bank and about seven bamboos distance from one another. Accused stands near one of them while a friend goes into the water. Accused touches one man and runs to the other, touches him and returns. When accused touches the first man the friend dives under water, and if he can remain below the surface till accused finishes his run, the latter is judged as innocent, but if not, then he is guilty; accused is then expected to vomit blood and die,—a not unnatural sequence if not in good training.

22. There is the red hot axe-head ordeal which is, I believe, not peculiar to Pardees, but I give it as mentioned. An axe-head is made red hot and the accused having twenty-one leaves (one source gives nine leaves) of the *pipal* tree on his hand the axe-head is laid thereon and he has to walk ten paces (one source says nine). If he can do so, well and good.

23. The following omens are believed to be unfavourable:—

- (1) meeting an empty water chatty;
- (2) a dog flapping its ears;
- (3) the bellowing of cows—though that of bulls is good;
- (4) mewing of a cat;
- (5) howling of a jackal;
- (6) sneezing;

- (7) a snake passing from left to right—though if from right to left is good.

24. Pardees when arrested are very ready at bribing the police in the first place, and if not successful here, then they have been said to bribe Magistrates; at least they boast of having done so, though, of course, this cannot be true. They say they approach the police through the village officers, and the Magistrate through his reader.

25. Their 'informant' is known as 'heria' and this man, who is usually a 'respectable' man of some position, always gets his share.

The 'receiver' is called a 'ján'; thus Tookia's 'receiver' is always known and spoken of as Tookia's 'ján.'

It occasionally happens that one man combines the two offices.

26. The following technical terms are used:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| dacoity | ... barbarra. |
| theft | ... ishāli. |
| burglary | ... joopda. |
| petty grain theft | ... koomai. |
| petty robberies and dacoities | ... kotoo. |
| house-breaking implement | ... kutturna (as on page 15, Gunthorpe's notes). |
| policeman | ... kāli kûtri (black bitch). |
| stolen property | ... gobur (cow-dung). |

27. As a rule they don't divide the property on or near scene of crime, but bring it home and divide there. Generally it is carried by one of the gang well behind the rest so as to enable it to be hidden if the party is challenged. This trick is common to the Bowries from the north.

28. I have noticed a tendency for Pardees to reside in villages on the borders of station ranges, especially ranges on the borders of taluqs and districts. They avoid giving trouble in the range where they reside and hence obtain considerable immunity from supervision. This should not be held to the discredit of the local police officer for he has enough to do to look after men who commit crime in his own range: he can't possibly deal with men who go outside until he is aware of their methods. Hitherto with the village officer and his 'pass' to shield the absent Pardee it would be hard luck on a station-house officer to call him to account for offences committed by his Pardees outside.

29. These notes are naturally very incomplete, as what account of the criminal classes would not be. But I have gathered together as much of what I thought might be interesting, as I could and hope it may be of some use to my brother officers.

I must record my thanks to Inspectors Abdulla Khan and W. Stacey for much valuable aid in compiling the same.

APPENDIX II.

Harnis.

The following is a note by the Inspector-General of Police, Panjáb, on the Criminal Tribes of Harnis, and is reproduced from the *Supplement to the Central Provinces Police Gazette* dated 3rd October 1906.

A short description of the Criminal Tribes of Harnis or Harnees in the matter of their origin, mode of life, religion, etc.

Some centuries ago Mahmud Ghaznavi, on one of his invasions of India, was accompanied by a body of Patháns, residents of Ghanur, a village near Kabul, under their chieftain Babr Khan. Mahmud Ghaznavi gave them the village of Mansuri, near Delhi, to settle in and here they remained for several years. They are next heard of in Bhutnair in Bikanir State, where they founded the town of Harnian Khaira. They intermarried with the Hindu Rajputs of the neighbourhood, and this is probably the reason why the present day Harni sometimes says that his ancestors, before becoming followers of Islam, were Rajput Chhatris. This is confirmed by the names of the eleven *gothis* or clans (Tur, Chuhan, Lathik, Gujjar, Malak, Barang, Sanghaira, Leer, Ladar, Nandika, Powar), some of which are Hindu and the remainder Muham-madan.

In the year 1783 A.D. (Sambat 1840) a number of men of this tribe, if we may call it so, were forced by the severe famine then prevailing to emigrate. Numbers of them crossed the Ganges and settled in the United Provinces, where their descendants are known as Hairees and Banjaras. Another branch of this tribe is the 'Chirrimars' of the Sialkot District.

The remainder came into the Panjáb and took service under a certain Rai Kallah, a powerful chieftain, who held under his sway the country in the neighbourhood of the large towns of Raikot and Jagraon, in the Ludhiána District. These men were subsequently joined by their families and relations and were of the greatest assistance to their liege-lord, Rai Kallah, who employed them not only as *shikaris* or huntsmen, but also as mercenary free-booters and the latter, by making constant plundering raids on the lands held by Rai Kallah's

enemies, caused the possessions of the latter to be subject to a ceaseless series of harassment and rapine.

The indefatigable exertions of this band of free-booting mercenaries and their conspicuous and never failing successes in this method of predatory warfare gained them the name of Harnis or Harnees. This name is derived from either the Sanskrit word *harni* (a thief) or from the two words *har* and *nahin*, i. e., the never-failing or invincible. Some of the Harnis wrongly state that their name is derived from *harni* (a doe) and was given them by Rai Kallah on account of the activity of one of their number, who ran down and caught a wounded doe.

On the death of Rai Kallah, these Harnis, taking advantage of the disturbed condition of the neighbourhood, made themselves masters of the five villages of Chimna, Malak, Panheeni, Sangatpura and Leelan in the Jagraon *ilaga*. They continued their predatory habits and carried them to such extremes that in 1818 A. D. (Sambat 1875) General Sir David Ochterlony brought their conduct to the notice of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who ordered the Raja of Kapurthala, in whose territories these Harni villages lay, to banish them.

Nothing is known of this tribe from then till 1847 A. D. (Sambat 1904), but it is probable that, in this interval, a number went away and settled at Burj Lamra, a village near Ludhiāna, while others went and established themselves in parts of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Faridkote, where they are still found to some extent.

In 1847 A. D. this tribe was permitted by a Mr. Kewell (? Campbell), a British Settlement Officer, to establish themselves in the villages of Bir, Tappar and Kiri, in the jurisdiction of Jagraon police station, Ludhiāna District.

In the adjacent village of Bodalwāla, some Harnis, who had for many years been in the service of the Rajas of Kapurthala, had taken up their residence after payment of a large sum of money, while the Harnis of the neighbouring village of Meerpur were located in it about the year 1850 A.D. by Moulvi Rajab Ali of Jagraon. In 1873 small numbers of Harnis were found in some twenty-nine other villages in Ludhiāna District. The total number of Harnis in Ludhiāna District at that time was 463 men, 510 women and 1,075 children. The total amount of land in their possession was only 1,725 bighās (owned by 185 individuals) and the

inadequacy of it to support them drove the Harnis to committing burglaries and dakaitis which extended over half the Panjāb and many of the Native States adjoining it. In spite of the faulty identification of criminals of that period, the police registers showed that 202 Harnis had been convicted of one or more burglaries or other offence against property.

It is as well to discuss the *modus operandi* then in vogue among them for committing crime before the Criminal Tribes Act was put in force among them.

Then, as now, the Harni never committed any offences locally, beyond the theft of grain or standing crops or the occasional theft of a stray goat or cow, which were almost immediately killed and consumed.

They invariably journeyed to other districts for their offences and, to prevent local hindrance or obstruction, paid a fixed poll-tax, for each individual going on thieving expeditions, to their own headmen, a *chaukidar*, as well as to the local police.

It is estimated that, at that time, 125 to 150 persons would sally forth every month for the purpose of committing crime and acquiring plunder. If the local police attempted to interfere with these expeditions, the Harnis would retort by plundering in their jurisdiction and the same local terrorism was exercised over headmen, neighbours, etc., by destroying the crops of all those who opposed or gave evidence against them.

Disguised as beggars (*fakirs*), quacks (*hakims*), travelling merchants or potters, they would set out in gangs of ten or twelve able-bodied men, generally accompanied by one or two very feeble old men and a couple of boys. They were invariably accompanied by a 'khumar' or potter and a few mules or donkeys, whenever they were passing themselves off as grain merchants; on occasion they took a few sheep or goats along with them and represented themselves to be butchers or cattle dealers.

Every party had a burglarious implement (generally a *sabhal* or long iron nail), a box of lucifer matches, a sickle and a sharp pocket-knife. Having encamped, the young men would visit neighbouring villages and mark out the most convenient places for their purpose.

In the evening, having reassembled, discussed the results of their inquiries and appointed a fresh rendezvous, the old

men and boys would proceed to the latter, while the remainder of the gang broke up into parties of four. Each party would then set off to the place it was determined to rob. With the sickle four stout sticks would be cut for weapons in the event of their being surprised and pursued. One of the party was left outside the village in charge of the shoes and superfluous clothes of the party and the remainder entered the village.

One man hid himself in a lane, adjoining the scene of the proposed burglary, to keep a watch for the local watchman or any stray passer-by, a second would quickly dig a hole in the roof or wall of the house and enter, leaving the third at the mouth of the aperture to receive the stolen property passed out to him.

The lucifer matches would now be used to guide the burglar to any property worth appropriating, while the sharp pocket-knife was brought into play in cutting open bags or leather boxes or the strings securing the ends of necklaces worn by sleeping women and children.

Having completed their work, these three men would rejoin the fourth outside the village, and, proceeding for some distance over turf, or hard ground, would then put on their shoes and proceed to their rendezvous.

Their plunder and implements of burglary would be carefully buried in some adjoining sand-hill or underneath the roots of a tree until their next march.

Day by day the process was repeated until the approach of moon-light nights. All valuable property, such as money, jewellery, etc., would then be made over to one man who would proceed home alone by a separate route, while the remainder would stuff all stolen clothing, etc., into large sacks, filling up the mouths of the latter with cotton or hemp. They then placed these sacks on their animals and returned home by the ordinary route, the old men and boys riding on the animals, while the remainder of the gang walked in twos or threes at some distance in front or behind to guard against any sudden attack. At ferries especially, and also at other places, where they were likely to be suspected, they, if possible, mounted lepers on their animals, and finally crossing the Sutlej, principally at the ferries of Tihara, Sidhwan, Pandari, where the boatmen were in their pay, they made their way to their villages.

The property would be equally divided between the members of the gang (except that the burglar, or individual

who entered the burgled houses, received a double share in consideration of the additional risk of capture, incurred by him) and sold to neighbouring *samindars* or *mahajans*, the 'purchaser' inspecting the stolen property in the Harnee villages and the property being subsequently taken to his house by Harni women and children. Such was the *modus operandi* of the Harnees of this district (with the exception of the Gownimar Harnis who live in the village of Kiri and whose *modus operandi* will be described hereafter) previous to the year 1873, in which the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act (XXVII of 1871) were put into force and the excursions of the Harni gangs of burglars checked. The enforcement of this Act, the extensive introduction of railways and the greater facility gained therefrom by the police of different districts in co-operating with one another, and lastly the arrest and conviction of a great number of Harnis (who had been concerned in a vast number of cases throughout the Panjāb and its adjoining Native States), by Mr. J. P. Warburton, then District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiāna, have caused the Harnees to seek more distant fields for their attention.

The present *modus operandi* of the Harnis will now be discussed. In the village of Kiri in this district, as well as in one village near Kartarpur in the Jullundur District and in one or two villages in Hoshiarpur District, resides a branch or clan of the Harnis known as 'Gownimars.' The name is derived probably from *gooni* (a theft) and *marna* (to commit), hence theft committers or thieves (practically the same meaning as that of Harni).

This clan, now as heretofore, commit practically only one class of offence, their women, while young and comely, take up their residence in the houses of the rich as servants, mistresses or wives. After some time they either seize a convenient opportunity to make over all articles of jewellery or other valuables, that they can conveniently seize, to some one of their male relatives who has visited the house, generally in the guise of a religious mendicant or *fakir*, or else they take all the valuables they can and vanish, leaving behind them as souvenir any children they may have borne to their masters or husbands. Sometimes these Gownimars will enter in disguise houses, in which marriage or other ceremonies are taking place, and steal anything they can.

The remainder of the Harnis now commit only the following offences, of which I shall point out any facts of interest.

No Harni will commit in his own *ilaqa* (i.e., the limit of the jurisdiction of his police station) any offence other than perhaps the theft of standing crops or of a stray goat or cow.

If a Harni, bent on plunder, cannot obtain the co-operation of other Harnis he will join local bad characters or members of other criminal tribes, chiefly Sansis, and commit burglaries with them. A Harni will seldom or never commit any offence, other than petty thefts, single-handed. The main characteristic of their burglaries is the very small hole by which they make their way through the roof or wall of the house burgled. These holes are generally very neatly made and are made with a *sabbal* or long iron nail, with or without a wooden handle; when not in use, a loop of string having been affixed to the handle of the *sabbal*, the arm, as far as the shoulder, is passed through the loop, leaving the *sabbal* to hang down and escape notice between the arm and the side. Their usual offence is burglary (attended by *dakaiti* or violence if surprised or opposed) and in many cases of burglaries committed by them, necklaces and other ornaments are removed or wrenched from off the bodies of sleeping women and children. When wandering about India in disguise, they either join local bad characters in burglaries or other offences or else commit petty thefts single-handed.

The following are their principal venues :—

(1) The Panjáb, south and east of the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum (though they have been arrested as far west as Multan), and its adjoining Native States, but chiefly the districts of Hoshiarpur and Ambala, and the Native States of Patiala and Faridkote.

(2) Burma.

(3) The Dekkan. A small number are now said to be present at village Parbani, police station Parbani, in Hyderabad.

(4) Bombay Presidency. Some are said to be living in Násak in Násik District.

(5) Guzerát. A number have been and now are living in Surat, where they visit the shrine (*dargah* or *khandah*) of Timur Shah, the *pir* or saint of the Banwa or Benawa Faquirs.

(6) The Central Provinces and Nágpur.

(7) Bombay City.

They visit those places in the following roles :—

A—Jugglers and acrobats.

B—Fakirs.

C—Gurzmars or Gurgmars.

D—Mirasi or singers and players.

E—Potters.

F—Banjaras or Baisatis or grain merchants.

G.—Husbandmen.

As A, they will nearly invariably describe themselves as Ranjars or Muhammadan Rajputs.

As B and C, they will state that they are Ranjars (Rajput Muhammadans) or Qadria Fakirs, Benawa or Banwa Fakirs, or Gurzmar Fakirs. If asked their Shijra or Fakir genealogy they will trace it back to the prophet Ali, and state (in many instances) that their *pir* or saint is Timur Shah of Surat.

As D, they will pass themselves off as Mirasis or Qalandars.

As F and G, they will make out they are Rains or Arains.

Note 1.—In Bombay City they are always found as Fakirs.

Note 2.—They are never seen in any but Muhammadan disguises and are said to be able by a special method of applying a compound containing cocoanut oil to make the hair on their heads and faces grow rapidly.

Note 3.—In Bombay, they nearly always prostitute their women-folk and beg themselves and make a large income by both livelihoods, as paid-off native sailors and lascars will spend their arrears of pay on the wife, while the husband will trade on the susceptibilities of the generous and reap a rich harvest.

Note 4.—When going to Bombay they go by the narrow gauge railway *via* Bandikui, at which place there is a rich Muhammadan butcher, who sends them, in their guise of Fakirs, free of charge to Bombay in the trains which convey his animals there weekly.

Note 5.—The inhabitants of Bodalwála and Tappar generally go to Nágpur and the Dekkan, those of Bir and Mirpur to Bombay and Burma, while the inhabitants of Kiri seldom go beyond the Panjáb.

Note 6.—As Fakirs they generally wear an 'alfi' or long robe of thick cloth or blanketting.

Note 7.—In nearly every case they will say their ancestors were Rajputs, and in this district, the Harni will often describe himself Rajput *alias* Harni or Rajput *urf* Harni.

If questioned they will invariably state they are residents of districts beyond or adjoining the Sutlej, such as Jullundur and Ferozepore, or else a Native State such as Patiala or Faridkote, where the inhabitants speak a dialect similar to their own.

If, however, they are suddenly and boldly accused of being Harnis, they will often admit the fact.

As a Harni will never, if he can avoid doing so, eat his bread dry, *ghi* or clarified butter will nearly invariably be found in their baggage, except when they are masquerading as faquirs, in which case they will invariably beg or buy some *ghi* to eat with their meals.

When abusing their children they often use the expression 'phot Allah maria,'—may God smite you.

If any persons are suspected of being Harnis, their fingerprints should immediately be sent to the Phillour Bureau, where finger-prints of every registered Harni above the age of twelve are kept.

In religion the Harni is, according to his lights, a strict Sunni, but his religion does not keep him from a desire for and appreciation of alcoholic liquors,—a desire which he will generally gratify on any 'red letter' day.

The average height of a full grown male Harni is about five feet seven inches. They are well made, muscular and sinewy. Being taught habits of activity and endurance from their childhood, they are extremely hardy and have been known to proceed to a spot ten or fifteen *kos* (twelve and a half to nineteen miles) away, commit a burglary and return between nightfall and dawn.

Their food is principally bread made from wheat flour or crushed Indian corn. They are generally monogamous, though a few have a second wife, and the men invariably marry women of their own tribe. The majority of them are absolutely uneducated, nor do they desire education.

Their language is Panjabi, but they use so many words of their own that two Harnis can carry on a conversation without an outsider understanding them. The most common of their words are 'tusian' (policeman); 'dhariwala' (a station house officer of police), 'dhotni' (a woman), 'damrid of Chhetra' (a rupee).

They will absent themselves without permission from their villages for long periods, during their absence remitting sums

of money to their relatives through the post office at Jagraon.

When tired of their wanderings, they often return home and surrender themselves to the police, and by telling a piteous tale of woe as to how they were forced by want and the lack of any means of livelihood to leave their villages without permission, as their applications for passes or tickets-of-leave were either refused or never replied to, often get off with as light a sentence as six weeks' imprisonment, and thereafter return to their villages to live on the proceeds of their wanderings.

Those living in the neighbourhood of their villages are loth to prosecute or give evidence against Harnis, as they very often carry on intrigues with Harnee women, while they are in fear of the Harnis in retaliation destroying their crops and ricks.

In the Ludhiāna District there are at present the following registered malé Harnees (of above twelve to fourteen years of age). The finger-prints of all such are taken and kept at the Central Bureau at Phillour, but the fact that a suspected man's finger-prints are not traced at Phillour is not absolute proof that the man is not a Harni, as several have absconded and do abscond when served with a notice to show why they should not be brought under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act:—

| | Number registered. | Number exempted for life from provisions of Act XXVII of 1871. | Number who have been convicted of any offence. |
|---|--------------------|--|--|
| In Kiri, Badalwal, Bir, Mirpur, Tappar | 727 | 38 | 387 |
| In other villages | 267 | 28 | 77 |

APPENDIX III.

Harnis.

Another account of the present-day methods of Harni criminals is reproduced in the form of extracts from a very interesting and instructive report, dated 26th January 1907, on the tribe, by Mr. Frank Clough, Officiating Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, in the Panjáb.

* * * * *

It is now necessary to describe the actual methods employed by the Harni in the commission of burglary or *tápá*, and this is all the more important that other criminals have copied his methods in them and offences committed in this manner can no longer be attributed solely to the Harni, although there is no doubt that he is far bolder and far more skilful and workmanlike in burglary and *tápá* than his imitators.

In committing *tápá*, one man steadies himself against the wall and holds his hands, palms upward, at his shoulders. Another then jumps on his back and places a foot on each hand and is lifted up until he can reach the top of the wall and draw himself up. His descent is made in the same way or by leaping down.

Sometimes only one of the gang enters the courtyard or climbs on the roof; sometimes one or more of his companions will follow him, in which case they will often stand over the sleepers (especially if any be men) with their sticks, ready to beat or frighten them into remaining quiet, should they awake, and deter them from raising an alarm or from attempting to seize any of the gang.

In some cases the gang will quietly fasten the courtyard doors of neighbouring buildings from the outside by putting the chain over the hook; then one of the gang enters the courtyard of the house, the occupants of which are to be robbed, and quietly opens the door of the courtyard from inside to admit his fellow criminals. Should any alarm be raised, the burglars beat the occupants and vanish and the neighbours are hindered, at least for some time, from coming to the assistance of those robbed.

In the commission of *tápá*, ornaments are sometimes cut, sometimes wrenched, and sometimes (as in the case of earrings) torn from off the persons of the sleepers.

Before committing *tápá*, one of the gang will often enter the village as a *faqir* or religious mendicant, and obtain a good knowledge of the ins and outs of the houses and of the ornaments worn by the women and children. The *sabbal* or instrument of burglary is like a long nail (without the head); both the body and tip are round (although in some the tip has four sides) and it resembles a well-sharpened lead-pencil, except that the tip is more gradually rounded off. It is made of iron, heated and beaten into shape, is usually about fifteen to eighteen inches in length, an inch in diameter at the thickest part, and about a pound and a half in weight and has a hole bored through the top, which is carefully rounded off. Through this hole a piece of thick string or thin rope is passed and tied so as to form a loop. This is slipped over the arm tip to the shoulder and causes the *sabbal* to hang down the side between the arm and the body and remain unnoticed.

The other necessary articles, such as the sickle, matches and knife are concealed on the persons of one of the gang. The instrument of burglary is never kept in their houses, but concealed elsewhere and only taken when they are actually setting out for the offence. The sickle or *dátri* has a very toothed or saw-like edge. Before setting out, they eat sweet rice (the reason for which is not apparent but is probably due to superstition). In former days they took a *huga* with them, now they take a small *narela* (a *huga* with a short stem, often no mouth-piece, and the receptacle for water consisting of a cocoa-nut) or more often merely a *chilum*. Before stripping for the fray and leaving their clothes outside the village in which the offence is contemplated, the gang will have a smoke, for they are devoted followers of the goddess Nicotine.

Each man having taken up his proper post, if the offence determined on be a burglary, the burglar cleverly selects a weak spot in the wall next the ground and sometimes in the roof and begins to dig through it; in the former case digging into the ground at the same time, so that he may get under the wall to some extent. The work is quickly done, as the Harni pushes his *sabbal* into the wall and wrenches parts away rather than digs them out. The sound made is very very slight and not likely to awaken a sound sleeper. In a comparatively short time, say half an hour to an hour, a hole is made up to the plaster of the inner side of the wall. A

small hole is made in this and the plaster is carefully broken off into the burglar's left hand so that it may not fall on the ground and wake the occupants of the room. As portions of the wall are dug away, they are pushed back by the burglar to the man outside the hole, whom I shall hereafter call the assistant, and placed outside so as to leave the hole quite clear. As soon as the hole is sufficiently large, the burglar rounds his shoulders as far as possible, crosses his arms, the hands being in front of his head and enters the room noiselessly.

The burglar is said by Mr. Warburton to enter the room feet foremost and leave it head foremost; but, in an illustration given me of a burglary, the burglar's head was the first part of his body to enter the room and the last to leave it.

Stepping across the room without a sound, he speedily locates the receptacles containing property (using if necessary a sulphur match). If he can cut open the receptacle, he does so; if not, he coils a fold of cloth round the point of the *sabbal*, inserts it in the hasp of the lock and, by using a little leverage, breaks the lock open with very little noise.

He will sometimes cut off from a sleeping woman or child a *ponchi* (bracelet fastened with string) or a *hamail* or *kanthi* (necklaces with string fastenings).

As soon as the burglar enters, his assistant comes into the hole and lies there with his face just in the room. Both men have a loose fold of their *pagris* or small turbans tied low down over their eyes, to protect the eyes from dust rather than to guard against recognition.

The burglar hands out articles of value to his assistant who rapidly deposits them outside and, when they have taken all they want, they decamp.

Should one of the occupants of the room stir or begin to wake, the assistant glides out of the hole and the burglar noiselessly and with incredible rapidity assumes his place, seeing what is going to happen. Should the sleeper be thoroughly aroused and become suspicious, both vanish and leave the village with what they may have obtained. Should the sleeper sink into sound sleep again, the burglar enters the room and continues his work.

In some cases the occupant of the room will be aware of the burglar's presence but will be quiet through fear and raise no alarm until the burglar has finished his task and gone away.

If, owing to the nature of the ground, they are obliged to leave tracks, they avoid detection by tying pieces of cloth round their feet, or by treading on their toes and distorting, as much as possible, the prints of their feet. If a suitable opportunity be obtained, they will, after leaving the village, sometimes walk back towards it, leaving these unrecognizable foot-prints, in order to create a suspicion that the offender is a resident of the village.

The hole made by the Harni in committing a burglary is very small and neatly made, for the smaller the hole and the better it is made, the greater the reputation of the burglar.

The Harni has been in times past, and may be at the present day, greatly assisted to escape the law by the nature of the persons despoiled, the character of the village *chowkidar* and headman, the sloth or ignorance, or both, of the local police, and the doubts entertained by them as to whether a grown man could have entered by the hole used by the burglar.

This is due in many cases to the complainant, intentionally or through mistake, saying that he recognized the accused as being a certain person or that he is sure that such-and-such a person or persons must be the culprits (this is often done to cause annoyance to enemies); to the Harni generally leaving no footprints behind him; to delay in taking up the enquiry; to dissensions in the village and the complainant having many enemies and a reputation for being a 'muqadma-bâz' or manufacturer of cases; to the police being influenced by the complainant's statement and, after endeavouring to fit the crime to the person or persons, named by him as having been seen or suspected by him, and failing, being convinced that the complainant has deceived them; this being greatly due to the smallness of the hole made, for I have seen a Harni slip, with ease, through a hole, through which it seemed hardly, if at all, possible for a full-grown man (or even a boy) to pass.

All these causes tend to convince the police that the case is most undoubtedly a false one and they report accordingly, the complainant being sometimes bullied into stating in writing that he has really suffered no loss; the case is often cancelled, or else left untraced; enquiries, in any case, are closed, and, even if the real culprits were to be subsequently sent for trial in the case, ordinarily they would almost certainly be discharged for want of proof owing to the conflicting nature

of the statements, etc. recorded in their former enquiry by the police.

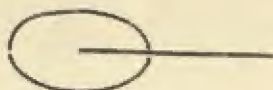
* * * * *

Locally, that is, in the Panjāb, Harnis will endeavour to get together a gang of their fellows and to meet near a place suitable for burglary or *tāpā*. They effect their purpose by (a) obtaining passes for long periods to sell vegetables or carry goods on camels or in bullock carts; (b) obtaining passes to visit villages in distant parts of their own district or in other districts, where the village headman, who is supposed to record on the pass and verify the date and time of the arrival and departure of the pass-holder, is generally uneducated and nearly invariably entirely ignorant of what he is expected to do, and hence places his seal on a note on the pass to the effect that the pass-holder visited and left the village at certain hours on certain dates, without troubling himself as to whether the dates are correct, or the license-holder remained in the village during the whole of the period mentioned; (c) obtaining passes to go to head-quarters, etc. and spending less time on the journey than they are supposed to have done and thus visiting other places; (d) transgressing the conditions *re* routes, etc. of the pass, and relying on not being detected or, if detected, proceeded against (and such reliance is very often not misplaced); (e) joining with Harnis of Native States where the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act are either enforced not at all or very indifferently; (f) joining Harnis who have life-exemption passes or who have been given passes to work on canals, etc.; (g) absenting themselves for long periods; (h) going away from their villages between sunset and sunrise to places as far off, in some cases, as ten or fifteen *kos* (fifteen or twenty miles).

When a gang of this sort can get together, the members proceed to a village, where a place suitable for the commission of burglary or *tāpā* has been marked out by one of the gang, and conceal themselves in the neighbourhood or arrive in the vicinity after night-fall. Having committed their burglary or *tāpā* they then disperse, after dividing the property stolen or making it over to one of the gang with a view to its disposal and future division of the proceeds.

If one of the gang, invariably disguised as a *faqir* or religious mendicant, goes to a village "to spy out the land," the rest are left behind, a signal, such as the call of some common animal or bird, having been agreed on; in his absence, should any one chance to be too inquisitive in

his enquiries as to the business of those left behind, or should they, for some reason, deem it advisable to move on, one of the gang will sometimes make on the ground with his foot a very superficial mark like this :



a mark which, even if noticed, would never cause any suspicion to the person noticing it. This is interesting as greatly resembling the marks used by European gypsies.

On his return the spy will see if there is any mark ; if there is one, the line will point out the direction in which his friends have gone ; if there is not, he will go to some neighbouring eminence, such as a sand-hill, and emit the call previously agreed on, which will generally be answered by one of his friends and enable him to find them.

If a Harni cannot obtain the co-operation of other Harnis, he co-operates, but very rarely, with non-Harni bad characters, but never with those of the village in which the offence is to be committed. He will usually, in such circumstances, resort to some influential Jat Sikh, and, obtaining from him a place of concealment and valuable information, await a suitable opportunity for committing an offence.

Cases have been known in which a Harni has proceeded to some village or town and taken up his abode in the *takia* as a *faqir*, collecting information for the benefit of other Harnis who may visit him.

No Harni will commit or attempt to commit a burglary single-handed.

No Harni will seek, as confederates in crime, members of other criminal tribes, except, and then very rarely, Sânsis.

The following are the places most frequently patronised by Harnis for the commission of crime :—

1. The Panjâb, south and east of the Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts (although they have been arrested as far west as Multan), and the adjoining Native States, but principally the Ambala, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore and Ludhiana districts, and the Native States of Patiala and Faridkot.

2. Burma, and chiefly Mandalay.
3. Haiderabad (Deccan).
4. Aurangabad.
5. Bombay Presidency—Surat, Nasik and Bombay.
6. The Central Provinces.
7. Madras.
8. Ceylon.

Nagpur and the Deccan are patronised mainly by the Harnis of Bodalwālā and Tappar; Bombay and Burma by those of Bir and Mirpur; the Harnis of Kiri seldom, if ever, leave the Panjāb, though one was arrested recently in Bombay.

In Bombay, the Harni, in some cases works at the docks as a ship's painter or as a stoker; but, as a rule, he wanders about in the garb of a *faqir*, and by trading on the susceptibilities of generous and religious-minded persons, reaps a rich harvest, in most cases from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 a month, inasmuch as the shop-keepers of Bombay are said to be very averse to refusing alms to religious mendicants, and the Harni, well disguised as a *faqir*, and calling loudly and speciously on the name of God, imposes greatly on his dupes.

A number of the Harni women of the Jagraon *ilāka* in the Ludhiana district reside in Bombay and do very well by following the "oldest profession in the world," inasmuch as they enjoy a very large share of the patronage of Panjābi stokers and sailors, who, when paid off at the end of a voyage, generally have a fair amount of money, which they are not slow in spending, and the greater part of which generally finds its way into the hands of these 'Harnianis.' Their husbands and relatives not only acquiesce in this, and are said, in some instances, to have lived in the houses in which their women ply their nefarious trade and to have acted as door-keepers to the apartments in which they receive their visitors.

Owing to the houses in Bombay being *pakka*, i. e., of burnt brick and mortar, the Harni commits no burglaries there and confines himself to stealing such articles as may be lying about in the front or neighbourhood of shops, etc. It is said that Harnis, when going to Bombay, travel by the narrow gauge railway *via* Bandikui, at which place there is said to be a rich Muhammadan butcher, who, believing them to be

faqirs, sends them free of charge to Bombay in the trains which convey his animals there weekly.

Beyond the Panjáb, and when wandering about India and Burma, they adopt the following disguises and roles :—

- (a) Jugglers and acrobats, in which case they perform somersaults, sleight-of-hand tricks, etc., for which they are particularly well fitted by their strong and wiry bodies and active habits.
- (b) *Faqirs*.—As *faqirs* they will state themselves to be of the Qadria, Benāwā or Bānwā, Gurzmār or Gurjmār, Madāri, Husseini, Naushāhi and Majāwir sects, while some give themselves out to be 'Panjābi *faqirs*,' a very general term which may mean anything.

If asked their 'shijra' or genealogy, they will readily give a genealogy reaching back to the prophet Ali, and state, as a rule, that their *pir* or saint is Taimur Shāh of Surat.

- (c) *Mirāsīs*.—As such they will sing to the accompaniment of the drum and make a fair livelihood by this means.
- (d) *Qalandars*.—In this case they will give performances with dancing bears and monkeys; they are very skilful in this and seem, in this pursuit, to completely take in the police and the public as to their real personalities, and to make a very good living. They follow this calling nearly invariably only in Burma, where these performances appear to appeal greatly to the people of the country, and the performer is well rewarded.
- (e) In some cases, and then only in such parts of the Panjáb where they would not be considered foreigners, but very seldom, they go about as potters (Kumhārs), Banjārās or Baisātis (*i. e.*, grain merchants), or Rains, *i. e.*, husbandmen or dealers in hides etc.
- (f) Some who went in the direction of Colombo are said to have taken up pocket-picking and pocket-cutting, being disguised, when necessary, as 'Panjābi *faqirs*.'
- (g) Others were said to be in Aurangabad and Parbani in the Deccan, and to have adopted the guise of Husseini and Naushāhi *faqirs*, and to have indulged in swindling passers-by on roads by gambling.
- (h) Last year a gang was said to be in Mandalay; its members were stated by 'informers' to be living by

performing tricks with bears and monkeys, *one of the gang also indulging in the robbery of travellers by the administration of stupefying drugs.*

In some cases these absentees indulge in work on railways as gangmen etc., but they seldom keep to it for any length of time and soon take to some unsettled means of livelihood, such as bear-leading, etc. At the same time, it is only right to say that one or two of the absentee Harnis, who have been arrested in Bombay in former years, have really been earning an honest livelihood as ships' painters and stokers, and some, who have been granted passes, still do so.

We may, therefore, hold, with a considerable degree of correctness, that, the Harni will ordinarily indulge in his own province, in burglary and *tāpā*, and in other provinces in begging, prostituting his women, cheating (by gambling), petty thefts, pocket-picking (*uchakagi*) and pocket-cutting (*jebtarāshi*), and, in very exceptional cases, robbery by the administration of stupefying drugs: that, in his own province, he will adopt no disguise or else assume the part of a *faqir*, husbandman or Arain, etc., and, elsewhere, the roles which I have already mentioned.

The roles assumed are always Muhammadan ones and I have heard of only one Harni who adopted Hindu disguises, *i. e.*, of a Brahmin, etc.

Their appearance (when they absent themselves) is greatly altered by large beards, for they are said to employ a preparation of cocoanut oil which causes a very rapid and thick growth of beard. Two Harnis captured in Madras certainly had larger and thicker beards than any I have seen worn by any Harni in this district.

The Harni, before absenting himself (without permission) for a tour in India or Burma, takes care to suffer as little loss as possible in so doing. Hence, sometimes before going away, he will sell or mortgage *bā-qabsā* (that is, the mortgagee has full possession of the land until redeemed) any land he may possess to some fellow Harni, and whether any money ever changes hands is extremely doubtful. As a rule, he cannot so dispose of his house, but this is also arranged for. The Harni departs and cannot be traced, and the machinery of the law begins to move against him. Evidence is recorded against him under section 512 of the Criminal Procedure

Code, and under the provisions of sections 87 and 88 of the same code, his goods are confiscated to the Crown and auctioned. All that the Crown can seize, if anything, is the absentee's house and this is knocked down to some relation of the absentee for a mere pittance, for no outsider will be fool enough to step in and bid for or buy it.

The absentee has, meantime, sought other 'climes' (or, at any rate, districts). In a short time, money begins to arrive at his village, remitted by him by money-order from time to time to his relatives through the Jagrāon post office or to trusty go-betweens living in Jagrāon or elsewhere. This money is well invested or stored up by his relatives against the day of his return. He remains away, sometimes a few years, sometimes many, and, in a few cases, for ever.

As a rule he returns sooner or later; sometimes in custody at Government expense; not unoften he comes back to his village and surrenders himself to the police. In either case, when produced in court, his defence is the same—a piteous tale of woe of hard times in the village, no means of subsistence; his constant appeals for passes or tickets-of-leave to seek work never heeded or answered by a hard-hearted police, unacquainted with his needs and circumstances; his gallant struggle to earn a meagre but honest livelihood in a land far distant from his well-loved home—and has completely hood-winked many a soft-hearted magistrate, unacquainted with the Harni, into passing on him a sentence of the most extraordinary lightness.

Having cheerfully served his time in jail, he returns to his village and lives on the proceeds of his tour for the rest of his life (except when they are so insufficient as to cause him to go on another tour in foreign parts), redeeming the land he mortgaged before his departure or buying that of others. In some cases he then sets down to a life of agriculture, often getting a *sānji* or partner to do the brunt of the work, and in a few years begins to clamour—on the score of a blameless life!—to be exempted from the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, and, sometimes, with the aid of a complacent *thānedār* is successful in getting a pass of life-exemption from the Criminal Tribes Act.

These methods of crime are not practised by the Gownimār
 Gownimār Harnis, Harnis, who are found only in the village
 of Kiri in the Ludhiana district, and

I believe, in one village near Kartarpur in the Jullundur district and in one or two villages in the Hoshiarpur district. Their principal method of crime is common to, I think, no other criminal tribe or class in the world, and is this.

Both formerly and at the present day, but to a smaller extent, their women, who, when young, are said to be (to borrow a phrase from Mr. Gordon's remarks on female Berihás) "handsome wenches and endowed with a saucy frankness which contrasts favourably with the demeanour of the ordinary native woman of the plains," while young and comely, enter the houses of rich and well-to-do persons as servants, mistresses or wives. After the lapse of some time, which may extend to several years, they seize a suitable opportunity and make over articles of jewellery or other valuables which can be conveniently carried off, to some of their male relative, who, on information supplied, visits the house as a *faqir* or religious mendicant, or else they themselves take such articles and vanish, leaving behind them as a souvenir or *mement* for their masters or husbands, as the case may be, any children they may have borne during their residence with them. Should, by any chance, it come to light, before they can make their escape, that they have thus disposed of jewellery or valuables belonging to their masters or husbands, they boldly defy the latter to do anything or to inform the police, and by threatening to say that they are either of some very low caste, such as the sweeper, or of a criminal tribe, and to thus expose their masters or husbands to the shame and possibly blame of having knowingly kept such a person in their houses; and for this reason the men are, as a rule, only too glad to make the best of the loss they have suffered and to turn the women out of their houses and wash their hands of them. This being all that the woman desires, she makes her way home and enjoys with her relatives the fruits of her wrong-doing.

The Gownimárs are also said to enter in disguise houses in which marriage or other ceremonies are taking place and large number of people are assembled, steal any articles they can conveniently conceal on their persons, but at the present day, at any rate, no such cases have come to notice in this district.

They are said, too, to commit burglary, but to no very great extent.

In the Harni village of Kiri the Harni is very well-behaved at present; the men are taking up agriculture and cultivate, besides the land of their own village, land belonging to neighbouring villages. The women are ceasing to follow their hereditary traditions and the men are settling down to the ordinary existence of the Panjābi Muhammadan.

The Harni at home. (District Ludhiana.)

In the Harni village of Bir, Tappar and Bodalwālā and the village of Mirpur (of which the Harnis form about a quarter of the population), the case is different; the inhabitants are a stiff-necked race, of whom few have any real love for agriculture; the majority prefer to grow and trade in vegetables, or convey goods on camels or in bullock carts and, for this reason, often mortgage their land to purchase camels or bullock carts and oxen. Some, but very few, obtain passes and serve on camels, one or two working at the docks in Bombay, and three are policemen in different places. They continually absent themselves for long periods, and, after their return and subsequent term of prison-life, live in comfort for some time after. Locally they do little crime except an occasional burglary.

In the other villages, the population of which they form a very small part, the Harnis are generally very well-behaved and make a very comfortable livelihood by agriculture, some owing a fair amount of land and others being hereditary tenants (*mazāra miyurusi*).

It must, however, be said in favour of the Harni in his large villages in this district that he is what he is owing, to a very great extent, to force of circumstances. In the inspection register of Jagraon police station, are many complaints by several District Superintendents of Police, these complaints extending to some thirty years back, to the effect that the Harnis of the Jagraon sub-division have not sufficient means of livelihood and that Government has not complied with sections 3 and 4 of the Criminal Tribes Act, *i. e.*, in satisfying itself that the members of this tribe had sufficient means of livelihood before registering them and bringing them under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act.

The land belonging to each village is probably the same as (and the population no less) it was in 1873 and the land at present in these villages is not sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants of these villages. Thus—

| Village. | Population. | Amount of cultivated land belonging to village. |
|-----------|-------------|--|
| | | Acres. |
| Bir | ... 554 | 315 |
| Mirpur | ... 333 | 468 |
| Tappar | ... 448 | 134 |
| Bodalwála | ... 460 | 554 |
| Kiri | ... 314 | 422 |

It is clear from this, reckoning the average annual yield of an acre as being about 20 maunds (*khām*) of grain, that, even if there was no revenue to pay, the land of these villages is not enough to sustain its inhabitants.

Some of these Harnis, but not very many, are beginning to take passes and go to other villages for a season and join land-owners in cultivation, while others work on brick-kilns.

In Kapurthala State, Harnis are, I am told, employed in the army and give satisfaction.

In conclusion, one may say that the Ludhiana Harnis are most notorious, being followed closely in this respect by those of Ferozepore, and, but not so closely, by the Harnis of the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts.

Even at the present day, the neighbours of the Harnis of large villages are very loth to complain of or give evidence against them for two reasons:—

- (a) because they form *liaisons* with their women;
- (b) because they are afraid of the Harnis retaliating and destroying their crops.

The language of the Harni is Panjābi, that is, the grammar and idiom are Panjābi, but the Harni in conversing with men of his own tribe will use so many peculiar words, that two Harnis can carry on a conversation of which the uninitiated will understand neither the meaning nor the drift.

I attach a list of about a hundred of the most common words used by them. In them it is noticeable that several words are used with meanings other than those they bear in Urdu or Panjābi:—

| Harni idiomatic words. | English meaning. |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| bāhli | ... Harni. |
| nikhāro | ... thief. |
| pothi | ... the comrades of the thief. |

Harni idiomatic words

English meaning.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|--|
| dáhli | ... | ... | stick or club. |
| sharna | ... | ... | cloth or clothes. |
| áera | ... | ... | clothes worn when committing a theft. |
| gandi | ... | ... | burglary; the act of burglary. |
| tilkni | ... | ... | shoe. |
| katwa | ... | ... | a man of another tribe. |
| jhála | ... | ... | zaildar. |
| bhasriwála | ... | ... | instrument of burglary. |
| rizak dewa | ... | ... | giver of food. |
| báhlia darbli birk | ... | ... | 'oppose them' or 'resist them.' |
| mundiwála | ... | ... | lambardar; a tricky word, as <i>mundi</i> is common Panjábi for a ring. |
| táuriwála | ... | ... | chowkidár. |
| chhandria | ... | ... | shop-keeper. |
| káthra | ... | ... | a Jat or Ját. |
| bokhra | ... | ... | sweeper. |
| khonk | ... | ... | house or building |
| dhotni | ... | ... | woman. |
| but | ... | ... | boy or son |
| butni | ... | ... | girl or daughter. |
| pila | ... | ... | gold. |
| baggi | ... | ... | silver |
| hatongar baggi | ... | ... | ornaments of silver. |
| hatongar pila | ... | ... | ornaments of gold. |
| bhadrian | ... | ... | ear-rings of gold. |
| dálha | ... | ... | necklace or bracelet. |
| dadoni | ... | ... | plate. |
| jhánjhi | ... | ... | dark night. |
| diwa | ... | ... | moonlight night. |
| titan | ... | ... | fire. |
| poh | ... | ... | buried articles. |
| obharja | ... | ... | run away. |
| katra hogia; thara hogia ubhro. | ... | ... | (said while committing an offence); the stranger knows; a stranger has come, run away. |
| jamjao | ... | ... | hide. |
| dhotni upar ke batak hé | ... | ... | the woman sleeps on the roof. |
| barkí pei hé | ... | ... | the woman is careless. |
| khassan | ... | ... | wall. |
| khassan mun satto | ... | ... | contrive to climb the wall. |
| chhitra | ... | ... | rupee. (In Panjábi <i>chhitra</i> , broken shoe.) |
| khundi | ... | ... | an eight-anna bit. |
| agri | ... | ... | two-anna or four-anna bit |

| Harní idiomatic words | English meaning. |
|-------------------------------|--|
| máta ho ja ... | ... absent yourself or make yourself scarce. |
| hokna ... | ... horse. |
| náka ; náki ... | ... ox ; cow. |
| kadi ... | ... buffalo. |
| dháski ... | ... wheat. |
| rorkani ... | ... gram. |
| náka dáunle ... | ... cattle theft. |
| dhárki ... | ... sword. |
| bukni ... | ... gun. |
| nakhâr barki hui ... | ... stolen property. |
| sákli hogia ... | ... he has been put in prison. |
| barmohan ... | ... jail. |
| wadda gehra ... | ... jail daroga. |
| barmohani ... | ... fetters or handcuffs. |
| gehra soráida ... | ... rich. |
| chatta karo ... | ... hide the property. |
| burkna rodla ... | ... 'huqa.' |
| dochu soti ... | ... 'chilum.' |
| táuriwála táunkda ... | ... the chowkidâr wanders about. |
| giuni vich katwa burklo ... | ... rob some one on a road. |
| náundhria ... | ... a Sánsi. |
| sohli ... | ... bread. |
| bumba ... | ... liquor. |
| határka ... | ... the thief's penknife or sickle. |
| shakar jatde ... | ... to remove the earth from the hole made by the burglar. |
| obhá kavva ... | ... box. |
| daddu burk dé ... | ... break the lock. |
| ronda ... | ... hook. |
| khula chhaukra ... | ... open door. |
| sufedi ... | ... cloth. |
| thongria ... | ... goldsmith or banker. |
| kánipatta ... | ... clean place. |
| chathha ... | ... grove of trees. |
| bagge chhokre wála ... | ... a European or an English gentleman. |
| nábal ... | ... ghi. |
| chikna ... | ... oil. |
| dhukhna ... | ... a Gujjar. |
| ráda ... | ... meat. |
| tokna penda ... | ... the dog barks. |
| gharisna ... | ... cart. |
| tusia máta ... | ... a weak constable. |
| rori ... | ... ladder. |
| hateli gandi ... | ... to mark a burglarious hole below. |
| khonk uparle chokre lagdi hé. | the hole (of burglary) is on top or above. |

| Harni idiomatic word. | English meaning. |
|---------------------------|---|
| bhart wáli . . . | the place for making the burglary hole is hard. |
| mudki wále dá khonk . . . | the house of a Mirási. |
| bhasne dá khonk . . . | the house of a Sayyad or <i>fagír</i> . |
| báhli nu kharlia . . . | they have thrown down the Harni. |
| mosliwala . . . | native state territory. |
| bagge chhokre da . . . | British territory. |
| balharkna . . . | camel. |
| dhontia dá dáhla . . . | there is a bed in front of the burglary hole. |
| bagle dá khonk . . . | the house of a Rájput. |
| nokhi ho gia . . . | some one has been killed. |
| chatna . . . | sugar or flour (?) |
| agrei . . . | a pice. |
| kolohiti . . . | blanket or rug. |
| khotne dáni . . . | turban. |
| saul . . . | penis. |
| saulni . . . | <i>mulieris pudenda</i> . |

In religion the Harni is, according to his lights, a strict Suni, but his religion does not prevent a desire for and an appreciation of alcoholic liquors, a desire which he will generally gratify on any 'red letter' day, especially when funds are plentiful.

They greatly reverence Sayyads, and hold in special esteem, being Muhammadans of the Qádri and Hanfi sects, Pir Sháh Abdul Karim Sáhíb of Delhi, whose tenets they follow. They hold in respect the pilgrimage to Mecca, and, among places the Khánqáh of Shádé Sháh in village Gagra, the Khánqáh of Hassu Sháh in village Tappar, the Khánqáh of Záhír Wáli in village Bodalwála (all these three villages are in the Jagráon sub-division of the Ludhiana district), and to a greater extent, the Khánqáh of Amin-ud-din Chisti in Ajmer Sharif, and the Khánqáh of Taimur Sháh in Surat, and, to a very great extent, the Khánqáh of Hazrat Sháh Abdul Karim Sáhíb, referred to above in Delhi.

Very few of them have more than one wife, and the men marry only women of their own tribe.

* * * * *

The Harni (male) adult is, on an average, about 5 feet 7 inches in height. They are well, but not heavily made, wiry, muscular, sinewy and very healthy.

Physique and appearance, etc.

They are of a free and out-spoken disposition, not slow to voice their sentiments or air their grievances, and hold no one in respect or fear.

They are not such fluent or perfect liars as members of other criminal tribes: and, if treated well and approached in the right way, will sometimes give information about the doings of members of their tribe.

They are taught habits of endurance and activity from boyhood; and it is said that a full-grown Harni could, if necessary, go ten or fifteen *kos* (twelve to twenty miles) and back between sunset and sunrise and commit a burglary too.

The usual dress of the men is a small turban of coarse cloth, a *kurta* or jacket of the same cloth, and a short or long *teh-band* (or loin-cloth tied round and hanging from the waist) according to their work or occupation at the time. To this is often added a waistcoat, and sometimes, an old, ill-fitting coat; while in cold weather, like other natives, they envelop themselves in a *loi* or rug or thick sheet (*Panjābi dohar*).

The women always wear petticoats and neither they nor the men ever wear *pājāmds* or pantaloons.

Practically none of them have received any education, nor do any desire it.

* * * * *

This tribe is also known as Machhimár, *i. e.*, slayers of fish, and there is no doubt that it is an offshoot of the Harni tribe. This tribe is found chiefly, if not wholly, in the Sialkot district and also goes by the name of Chirimár, Aráin, and sometimes Méo, *i. e.*, dwellers by rivers. It is registered under the Criminal Tribes Act in Sialkot district.

Pakhiwára.

The members of this tribe frequently leave their villages and come to the Ferozepore and Lahore districts for crime and, on these occasions, live with zamindars or agriculturists, who are acquainted with them. In villages they pose as goats' hides merchants, or sell tooth-powder, rosaries, etc., to the women, and in this manner become acquainted with the ins and outs of the houses, which is of great assistance to them in the commission of crime. On dark nights they commit thefts at railway stations and goods sheds and on trains and are also addicted to burglary. They also commit burglary, but, unlike the Harni, generally make an entry through the roof. They commit their offences in the same

way as Harnis, *i. e.*, at places distant from their homes. They visit, in the Ferozepore district, the Dogars living near the river, and are said to pay them monthly sums of money for their assistance.

Some are said to visit the Sammé mohalla near the Bhāti Gate of Lahore city and commit burglaries etc. in Anarkalli and other places. Ostensibly they are mild and pleasant-spoken persons, but in reality they are criminals of the most desperate and reckless nature and hesitate neither to inflict hurt nor to suffer it.

Their women are rank prostitutes, not only in villages, but in cantonments, etc., and convey news for their men.

The men are generally of wheat complexion, big eyes, to which they frequently apply *surma*, and of strong build and frequently wear *gānis*, or very small rosaries, round their necks, and affect the appearance of zamindārs.

They are of the Muhammadan religion.

The women wear petticoats, and the men dress like Harnis except that they give a *wat* to their turbans, *i. e.*, twist the folds in tying them. They carry *hugās* and *tawās* (iron vessels for cooking *chapātis*).

* * * * *

It is natural that his surroundings, his religion and his intermarriages with other races have had a marked effect on the physical attributes of the Harni; and, even if it cannot be said that he resembles in figure or feature members of Hindu criminal tribes, such as the Sānsi and the Bauriah, though (I am told) there is no very marked bodily difference between him and the Biloch or the Pachada, yet the moral attributes of both the Harni and every other criminal tribe, Hindu or Muhammadan, *i. e.*, their excessive powers of lying, their love of liquor and tobacco, their looseness of character, the general prostitution of their women, their garb (for very few members, male or female, of criminal tribes, at least in the Panjāb, wear *pājāmās* or pantaloons), their special languages (the variations in which are fully accounted for by eminent authorities), their inveterate love of theft and robbery, and, lastly, their dislike to a settled life, point to and prove their common stock, *i. e.*, that of the Indian aborigine or gipsy, the ancestor of all the gipsies of the continents of Europe and Asia.

I close this report by expressing my great obligation to Mr. J. P. Warburton, formerly of the Panjāb Police and now Inspector-General of Police, Patiala, for his full account (left by him in the Ludhiana district) of the Harnis up to the year 1873, and for the copious information and valuable advice, which he has been good enough to give me on various occasions, regarding this tribe, and I regret that I have not been able to consult him, as fully as I wished, on some of the points set down in this report.

APPENDIX IV.

Chandrawedis.

The following information on a criminal organization styled 'Chandrawedis' has been collated with the assistance of some of its members, acknowledged experts of the community, by the Criminal Branch of the Indore State Police.

The tradition of the origin of this criminal band, as handed down among themselves, is briefly as follows :—

About 66 years ago there lived in village Raruwa (south-west of Alampur) in Datia State two Sanawars or Sanoriyas who claimed to be Brahmins, named Ramlal and Madan Prasad. They were both learned men, and it is said that one of them was able to predict events, while the other could understand the language of birds. It so happened that a rich merchant was going with his wife on a pilgrimage to Jagannath when Ramlal and Madan Prasad met them at a river. While they were drinking water, a crow sitting on a tree commenced cawing. The Brahmin told his companion that the crow had said that if any one got possession of the merchant's walking-stick, he would become rich. Highway robberies etc. were rife at this period and travellers used to resort to various devices to conceal their valuables. Sometimes gold mohurs were sewn between the soles of shoes or between the folds of dirty-looking mattresses. This traveller had filled the hollow of his walking-stick with gold mohurs. The two Brahmins accompanied the merchant for a part of the journey, and, as soon as opportunity presented itself, relieved him of his walking-stick and decamped. Encouraged by the success of their first attempt, Ramlal and his comrade not only took it up as a trade, but opened a private school in their village where they taught small boys, irrespective of caste, the art of stealing during the day. Prior to admission, the lads were made to swear by the moon that they would never commit thefts by night. The exploits of these persons were noised abroad and attracted the attention of the Maharaja of Datia who found them such faithful and profitable subjects that when a big *darbar* was held in Delhi, with a view to secure his own safety and that of his property on the journey to and from the *darbar*, he took a large numbers of the followers of Ramlal and Madan Prasad with him to Delhi. They did their duty so well that when the question came up in the *darbar* as to which

class of subjects of the various States were the most loyal and profitable, the Maharaja of Datia cited the valuable attributes of the followers of Ramlal and Madan Prasad, on which their methods were discussed and they were for the first time dubbed with the name of 'Chandrawedis' as a special mark of distinction.

Chandrawedi is a pure Sanskrit word derived from the following roots :—

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Chandra</i> (moon) | } | The men whose (thieving) acts are |
| <i>bhedī</i> (broken). | | |
| | | <i>broken</i> to pieces (<i>i. e.</i> , exposed) by the moon. |
| <i>Chandra</i> (moon) | } | The men whose acts are <i>bored into</i> |
| <i>wedhi</i> (bored into). | | |
| | | (<i>i. e.</i> , ferreted out) by the light of the moon. |
| <i>Chandra</i> (moon) | } | The men who <i>observe</i> the moon (<i>i. e.</i> , |
| <i>wedī</i> (observes). | | |
| | | desist from doing wrong owing to the presence of the moon). |

It was first presumed that the Chandrawedis belonged to one sect of Hindus, but enquiries have established the fact that Chandrawedis are not a class but a confraternity of criminals recruited from any caste of Hindus (except Sweepers or Chamárs) or even Mahomedans.

(NOTE:—There are at the present only two known Mahomedan Chandrawedis.)

There are two forms of initiation, one used with children, the other with adults :—

(1) *Children*.—Little boys are admitted to a school where they are taught the art of 'lifting.'

(2) *Adults*.—Before anything is taught in the case of adults they are required to take a solemn oath on the 'Tulsi Ganga' that they will under no circumstances divulge the secrets of the fraternity.

For the first year, the novice has to remain on the staff at head-quarters, and is styled a 'derawala' (*i. e.*, one who stays at home). During his novitiate, a 'derawala' is only entitled to a half share. If a 'derawala' has proved himself faithful to the gang during the first year, he is, in the second year if he desires it, made either an 'upardar,' which means a conductor, or a 'chawa' (or 'khalet') which means 'uthaigir' [*i. e.*, the man who does the 'lifting' (stealing)], or he may, if he elects, continue to be a 'derawala'. This post, however, owing to the small risk incurred, only entitles him to a smaller share of the plunder. An 'upardar' can advance

himself to the position of a 'nalband' or leader. A 'nalband' is usually the richest man in the gang, a position reached only after many years of successful thieving. He is always a man of influence and usually commands a following of from ten to twenty. 'Nalbands' are self-elected by virtue of their skill, experience and wealth.

As 'Chandrawedism' has become synonymous with rapid and comparatively easy acquisition of property, combined with few of the risks attendant on more violent forms of crime, the number of recruits to its ranks has rapidly increased. From the time of its conception, when it consisted of only two members (its founders), to the present day, 'Chandrawedism' has taken root and thriven to an abnormal extent, there being at the present time several colonies in Alampur with ramifications in Datia, Gwalior, Jhansi and other parts of Bundelkhand.

A 'nalband' usually selects little boys in preference to adults, because instruction is quickly imparted and thieving thus learnt is more dexterously accomplished. The number of boys under training with a 'nalband' varies from one to six, and the art, which they are taught, has two names:—

- (1) '*parsi*' (i. e., secret code vocabulary), and
- (2) '*teni*' (i. e., secret code signals).

The '*parsi*' vocabulary is fairly extensive; some of it is given below. It is chiefly confined to nouns and has no grammar, so that to talk 'Parsi' it is necessary to amalgamate it with Hindi:—

| Chandrawedi. | English. |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| khutarya | ... bundle. |
| kaniyai | ... purse (money-bag). |
| gond | ... turban (<i>safa</i> *). |
| kaithi (kamthi) | ... turban (<i>pugree</i> †). |
| pun-pathoo | ... dhoti. |
| tanai | ... coat. |
| pujani | ... drinking-pot. |
| thanki | ... dish. |
| damri or nethi | ... rupee. |
| dande | ... copper coin. |
| kanpi | ... cowries (shells). |
| gulli | ... mohur (gold coin = Rs. 15). |
| bardala | ... armlet. |
| paiti | ... toda or silver leg ornament. |
| gallaga | ... necklace. |

* *Safa* and *pheta* are the plain turban.

† *Pugree* is the embroidered turban with gold or silver fringed ends.

| Chandrawedi. | English. |
|--|----------------------------------|
| pitghesa or gunjitlai... | gold necklace. |
| nukli ... | nose-ring. |
| tokiya asur gaya ... | a police constable is coming. |
| khanchdev ... | hide it. |
| ukanjao ... | run. |
| seyand ... | gold. |
| uben ... | silver. |
| setra ... | book. |
| 1. bakhole } 2. gonias } 3. gudari } | ... shoes. |
| rungathiojaw ... | sheet of cloth. |
| khoh ... | bania's shop. |
| kathari ... | a safe for depositing valuables. |
| teda ... | lock and key. |
| dharkarana ... | door. |
| lamani ... | chain. |
| banari ... | walking-stick. |
| mamada bhapat hai ... | you are being watched. |

'*Teni*' consists merely of signs. For instance, an 'upardar' is conversing with a victim while one of his lads is standing near by, and there is something to be lifted, the 'upardar' raises his hand to his cheek-bone and begins to scratch, which means 'approach nearer.' Next he raises his elbow and points it in the direction in which the article is lying; at this sign the boy picks up the article. If the 'upardar' finds that the boy is watched, he closes one hand, turns the fist upwards and strikes the palm of the other, which means 'wait for further orders.' When the coast is clear, he brings his hands to his chest and gently raises one elbow, which means 'run away with it.' If the boy is detected after picking up an article, the 'upardar's' hand is raised to the shoulder and the elbow brought downwards, which means 'drop it and bolt.' If successful in the attempt and the question is what should be done with the stolen article, both hands are opened out, and one is made to pass below the other pointing to the ground indicating 'bury it.' If the elbow of one arm is raised and the other hand with the thumb turned outside moved across the waist, it signifies 'take possession of the waist-purse only from the clothes, etc., lying there;' and so on *ad infinitum*. An 'upardar' can thus communicate almost any order to a 'chawa' by means of signals.

If a 'nalband' is thoroughly satisfied that the training he has given is complete, he starts out, usually after the rains

in October or November (*after* the Dashera), with a gang composed of ten or twenty, half of the number being usually youths and the other half men. Before leaving head-quarters with his gang, the 'nalband' sends for a 'Jotishi' or soothsayer, offers him sweetmeats, and asks him in what direction they should go, and what time would be most propitious for the start. The 'Jotishi' consults his 'panchang' or astrological almanac, and tells him when he should set forth, and which direction he should proceed in. There are no other particular ceremonies observed, or omens consulted, before the gang sallies forth. Some of the members are, however, usually advised to eat curd mixed with rice and jaggery, and others to eat betel, and some to have their clothes patched as directed by the soothsayer, all these observances tending to bring success to the expedition, and to defeat bad luck.

Before starting on an expedition, a 'nalband' makes ample provision for the wives and families of his party and arranges for their requirements pending the return of the gang which is usually in about eight months. If the 'nalband' has not sufficient money himself, he gets it on loan from a Bania at the current rate of interest and keeps a careful account of all advances he makes.

All being in readiness, the 'nalband' appoints a place near the outskirts of the village where the gang meets. The gang is usually composed of one 'nalband,' one or two 'derawalas,' and some 'upardars' and 'chawas.' If after all have assembled one of the members has forgotten anything or wishes to return to say a word to some one in his family, the rule is that he should, on no account, be allowed to return home, but must send for the article, or the person he wishes to speak to. The gang then proceeds in the direction indicated by the 'Jotishi,' selecting a locality in which they are not known. They then decide on a line of country for their operations and break up into batches of twos and threes as the case may be. The members of each batch, which consists of an 'upardar' and one or two 'chawas,' then take tickets for a station just short of the place for which they are actually bound, while the 'nalband,' accompanied by his 'derawalas,' alights at a pre-arranged spot and awaits the return of each batch of his party which by previous arrangement has to turn up within a given period, usually about fifteen days.

Modus operandi.—When three or four Chandrawedis find themselves in the midst of a thickly-crowded bazar, and they

have decided on securing some particular property in the stall of a shop, two of the gang pretend to begin a violent quarrel in the vicinity, on which a crowd collects and the victim also goes up to see what is the matter. A 'chawa' has already posted himself at a convenient spot and when the 'upardar' sees that the victim's attention is thoroughly absorbed in the fight, he gives the signal and the 'chawa' lifts and slips away with the article fixed upon.

A common practice in a fair when there is always a big crowd and much commotion, is for an 'upardar' and a 'chawa' to visit, say, a sweetmeat or any other shop where there are several persons making purchases. The 'upardar' waits till one of the buyers lays down the bundle to take out his money or spreads his handkerchief out to receive the sweets when he pushes close up to his side and signals to the 'chawa' (perhaps, an innocent-looking little boy) who promptly clears away with the bundle. If the 'chawa' is caught, the 'upardar' comes up as one of the crowd and urges pity for the brat; when, ten to one, the lad gets a slap or two and is let go and takes to his heels and soon passes out of sight, while the 'upardar' gradually 'dissolves' with the crowd.

Sometimes three or four Chandrawedis visit a bathing *ghât* where a number of pilgrims are bathing. Two or three Chandrawedis begin to bathe while one lurks about near by. The attention of the bathers is directed to something strange in the water by one of the Chandrawedis or a diversion is created in some other way which leads to a discussion. While this is going on, the 'upardar,' who is standing near by, pretends to take an active part in the conversation, while he is at the same time actually directing the movements of a 'chawa' who on the signal lifts and disappears with something valuable which had been left by one of the bathers on the *ghât*.

Chandrawedis also disguise themselves as servants and take up employment in the houses of wealthy people. They soon win the confidence of their employers by a show of remarkable honesty, and so learn in which box the jewels and other valuables are kept when they rob their masters and disappear.

Sometimes when the occupants of a house are away on a visit or a journey and the door is locked, a Chandrawedi turns up and makes believe he is either the owner or a near relative

of the inmates. He opens the lock, enters the house, remains there for two or three days and ultimately vanishes with all that he can take away. By this ruse, Chandrawedis reap rich harvests when there is an epidemic of plague in the town.

Occasionally a couple of Chandrawedis join a marriage party travelling by road from one large town to another. They proceed to cultivate the acquaintance of some rich person whom they select as being the most gullible of the lot and travel with the party for a few days. Early one morning, a Chandrawedi creeps up to his new acquaintance who is sound asleep and steals his bundle containing valuables. Before the party awake, the Chandrawedis have put several miles between themselves and their fellow travellers.

The railway also receives their particular attention. A few Chandrawedis mix up with third class passengers in a station and sit down among them, when they substitute one of their own bundles, which contains nothing of value, for the bundle of a well-to-do passenger. They also travel by train and if they see a passenger sound asleep, pass his bundle over to another Chandrawedi in the next compartment in the same train. Sometimes a Chandrawedi disguises himself as a woman, and gets into a female compartment, and when he finds the women asleep, makes away with their bundles or removes valuables from their persons while the train is in motion between stations.

While the 'upardars' and 'chawas' are carrying on their operations, the 'nalband' halts, as already stated, at a prearranged place which is called 'band' in the Chandrawedi language, and where he is free from suspicion and comparatively safe. The 'derawala' is the caterer for the gang and has to look after the pals, etc., while the 'nalband' receives all the stolen property, and directs the movements of the gang. The several batches return to their camp on or before the date previously arranged with such loot as they have collected which is then weighed and roughly valued. Should any of the members not return within the appointed time, it is assumed that he has been arrested or that something unusual has happened. If the missing member has been arrested, the 'nalband' never personally goes to his assistance but arranges to send money for his defence and liberation. Should the arrested person be convicted, the 'nalband' has to support his family until his release and return from jail.

During one season's tour, a gang of Chandrawedis will visit several areas and usually return home towards the end of June or the middle of July, partly because fairs and marriages, etc., are not held during the rains and travelling is difficult, also to enable them to look after their cultivation. They do not cultivate much. Many of them purposely rent fields to keep up the appearance of cultivators, but do not till them although they pay the rent regularly.

After a successful trip and on their return to head-quarters, the stolen property is either kept intact or is melted down, as best suits the convenience of the 'nalband'; and a day is fixed for its distribution. The village *patwari* and the Sonâr of the gang are called in, the price of the loot is determined, and the division is made as follows:—

In addition to their respective shares, 15 per cent. is set aside for the 'upardars' and 'chawas.'

The *patwari* receives Re. 1 from each batch of three or four men of which the whole party was composed.

The Sonâr gets Re. 1 in the same way, *i.e.*, if the gang of twenty had divided up into parties of fours, the Sonâr would get Rs. 5.

Rs. 5 is given by each set in charity to the village temple for the annual 'Navaratri' sacrifice. The balance is then divided up into equal shares, except that the 'nalband' gets two shares, and the remaining members, one share each.

The 'Jotishi,' too, comes in for a reward if his prophecies have proved reliable.

If any member does not wish to take his share in actual property but prefers ready-cash, the 'nalband' has the option of buying it up at a reduced rate, say, gold is Rs. 24 a tola, the 'nalband' will purchase it at Rs. 20 a tola.

Chandrawedis in the Indore State.—It is difficult to ascertain when these people actually migrated from Raruwa, the birthplace of 'Chandrawedism,' and came into this State; but it is said that they have been in the following villages of the Alamput pergana for several generations:—

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| (1) Salon. | (5) Hasanpur. |
| (2) Bhitari. | (6) Kadura. |
| (3) Barka. | (7) Nowgaon. |
| (4) Khuja. | |

There are 327 adult male Chandrawedis at the present time in these seven villages which have been recruited from the following castes :—

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| (1) Kirars. | (6) Brahmin (chiefly |
| (2) Kachhis. | Sanoriyas). |
| (3) Kayastha. | (7) Ahirs. |
| (4) Kalals. | (8) Gaderias. |
| (5) Khangars. | (9) Vadhias, etc. |

Kirars and Sanoria Brahmins predominate.

Although Chandrawedis by profession, each member strictly adheres to his caste, and there is no intermarriage between castes. When, however, there is a marriage, all the Chandrawedis participate in it. Cultivation is also followed to a certain extent by those who remain at home, who also work as day-labourers—this tends to divert suspicion.

The Chandrawedis have regular 'receivers' of stolen property in each of their own and other villages: the stolen property is taken by these 'receivers' for disposal to Bombay and Jhansi, also to Datia and other States of Bundelkhand.

Chandrawedis during their operations travel anywhere and everywhere, Bombay, Poona, Bhavnagar, Kathiawar, Ajmer, Jodhpur, the Panjáb, the United Provinces, all the States of Central India, and other places of importance. They do not appear so far to have ventured into Southern India. It is reported that a tax of Rs. 8 to Rs. 16 per Chandrawedi is levied by the petty local officials, no receipts, it need hardly be said, being given for the payments. This is doubtless why the Chandrawedis have been having so easy a time of it for many years, and their operations have not been made public.

To look at, a Chandrawedi is like any ordinary native, but they will know each other by sight or can easily identify one of their profession by means of their secret codes. It must, however, be added to his credit, that a Chandrawedi never goes out armed, nor does he ever commit violent crime. Stealing by night he considers an unpardonable sin, as he glories in the fact that his art enables him to accomplish it in broad daylight. Moreover, they never offer violence to anybody, nor have they any cause to, as their methods of stealing obviate the necessity for it. Gunthorpe in his "Hand-book on Criminal Tribes" has described the habits of the Sanoriya and it is obvious that they are the same as those of the

Chandrawedis : ' Sanoriya ' is, however, a very old name while ' Chandrawedi ' is a comparatively modern one. These facts, combined with the Chandrawedi version of their origin, make it probable that the two Sanoriyas, Ramlal and Madan Prasad, drifted down to Raruwa some fifty years ago, and that it is from their disciples that the Chandrawedi confraternity has sprung. In other words, Chandrawedism is an offshoot of the Sanoriya tree. Another explanation is that ' Chandrawedi ' and ' Sanoria ' are synonymous terms, being merely different names for the same society, much as the Kanjars of the country round Agra are the same as the Berias or Baghorias of Central India. This view is supported by the fact that the Sanoriyas, though they claim to be true Brahmins of the Sanadh or Sanaurehya section, are only spurious Brahmins, seeing that they originally were, and I believe still are, recruited as children from almost any Hindu caste. I believe, however, that though for practical purposes Sanoriyas and Chandrawedis are much the same, still it is only the Brahmins, real or assumed, among them who are Sanoriyas, while all the rest who adhere to their respective castes come solely under the classification of Chandrawedis. Thus a Sanoriya can be classed as a Chandrawedi, but a Chandrawedi cannot be classed as a Sanoriya.

C. M. SEAGRIM,

Inspector General of Police,

Indore State.

INDORE :

Dated 16th February 1906.

APPENDIX V.

Chandrawedis.

Another account of this tribe was given by Mr. A. C. Hankin, C. I. E., Inspector-General of Police and Prisons in H. H. the Nizám's Dominions, when Superintendent of Dacoity Operations, Bundelkhand, Central India, in 1893, in a letter addressed to the General Superintendent of Operations for the Suppression of Thagi and Dacoity, Calcutta, and as the particulars given are instructive and some are not to be found in Mr. Seagrim's account, the letter is reproduced for general information.

In the year 1867 or thereabouts I believe an enquiry was made through the Thagi and Dacoity Department regarding the professional thieves known as 'Sonarias' or 'Chandrabehdís,' with what result I do not know; but in that same year a special enquiry was made by Mr. Ross Knyvett, District Superintendent of Police, Lalitpur, and also by Captain Kincaid, Assistant Political Agent, Bundelkhand, whose reports were forwarded to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Their enquiries were confined chiefly, I believe, to British India, and Tehri or Orcha, a Native State in Bundelkhand.

These Sonarias are, I believe, a registered class of criminals in the North-Western Provinces, but not in the Central Provinces. In the Native States they were ordered to be settled down and no doubt a great many of them have settled down and taken to cultivation; but during my recent tour in the Datia State of Bundelkhand and the Alampur parganah of Indore, I have come to learn that the Darbars do not exercise such a strict surveillance over the movements of these people as they are expected to do, or as much as they would have one believe they do. From enquiries I find that some hundreds of these men are now absent from their homes on thieving expeditions; they are scattered over the length and breadth of India, visiting all the large fairs. A very large gathering of them is expected at the coming 'Magh Mela' to be held in Allahabad. The majority of those now absent will not return home till just before the rains, when they will return in shoals, with the proceeds of eight months' 'loot.'

I have managed to get hold of some of them who are willing to turn 'informers,' and it is with the object of employing

some of them that I now address you. The North-Western Provinces Police and the Central Provinces Police would no doubt like to employ some of them. The Railway Police too could make great use of these men. Those who return home by rail will alight at Gwalior, Sonagir, and Moth on the Indian Midland Railway; those who come by road, bringing their 'loot' on ponies and camels, will pass chiefly through Native States, crossing the Amola Chandaoni Ghot in Gwalior. These are the chief places near here. They also alight at Agra and Ajmere.

The castes that leave this part are Brahmins, Kirars, Kangars, Kachis, and Ahirs; some of these men accompanied the last Kabul Expedition (not the Durand Mission). I merely mention this to show what a distance they go.

These 'thugs' or Chandrbehdís, as they are called, all pay so much a head before they start on their expeditions. The rates this year vary from Rs. 4 to 7, and is collected by a special officer. Whether these amounts reach the State treasuries or not, I am unable to say. I should hope not. The probabilities are they do not, but are waylaid as the 'huq' of some superior officials. Be this as it may, the men are under the impression that it is collected for the Darbâr.

On their return they are bound by oath in some States to present as a *nasar* anything of very great value, such as stones, valuable rings set with diamonds; in others, they keep all they can get, only paying the usual tax.

They leave generally after the Devali and Dessera after doing *pooja*.

My informers estimate roughly that some 600 or 700 men are now out from these parts—Datia, Alampur, and this side of Gwalior.

They have 'thangs' or receiving houses all over India, the Banias being the chief offenders.

These 'thugs' or Chandrbehdís are very expert thieves and their tricks are no doubt well known to the police; but I will give a few examples which may prove useful as well as interesting.

They never commit thefts by night.

Gangs vary from 2 to 15, and are headed by a man called 'jaita' or 'mookiah'; these always take two shares of the plunder; each working member is called an 'oopardar,' and he has a boy attached to him who is called a 'chawa.' They

do not work without these 'chawas,' who are seldom over twelve years of age or under eight.

The 'oopardars' do the work of talking and engaging the attention of the persons to be *looted*, whilst the 'chawa' watches his opportunity and runs off with the 'loot,' which he immediately hands over to another 'oopardar,' who takes it to the halting spot, and there it is quickly buried.

It sometimes happens that two gangs meet, and should one need the help of the other, they divide the spoil equally. They have signs by which they can recognise each other anywhere.

They are great in committing thefts on the railways. Two or three get into a railway carriage, and during the journey they manage to pass the stolen property from one to the other till the last one gets up and looks out of the window; seizing this opportunity he flings the article or bundle out of the window and marks the spot by the number of telegraph posts to the station; they then alight and wend their way back to pick up the 'loot.'

Thy also mix themselves with passengers who are busy taking their tickets and watch any one who puts any parcel or bundle down; as soon as he does, the 'chawa' is off with it and they walk to the next station where they take their own tickets.

They also watch passengers getting out at a station, one who has a lot of baggage; and after he has taken out 4 or 5, and re-enters the carriage for another parcel, the 'chawa' whips off one of the 4 or 5. By the time the passenger collects and counts his things, his parcel has passed through several hands.

When working in the streets and bazars they select a high caste well-to-do looking man, and a 'chawa' passing by manages to rub some filth on his clothes with a stick; a friendly 'oopardar' goes up to the man and tells him that he did not make a very careful selection of the spot where he last sat, and that he ought to wash his clothes at once. The man at once makes for the nearest well, tank or stream, and there proceeds to wash. The 'oopardar' also goes to wash his face and clean his teeth; meanwhile the ever-present 'chawa' whips off with the man's 'busni' (purse).

Another dodge is for an 'oopardar' to select a likely looking individual, and get into conversation with him. A second 'oopardar' brushes past the two, nearly knocking

them down. He is at once sworn at for his clumsiness and he craves pardon, saying he is only a poor sweeper and meant no harm. At the sound of the word 'sweeper,' the 'oopardar' and his companion make off to wash, and at the washing place the 'chawa' performs his part of the trade by walking off with the 'busni.'

At bathing ghats and river-side they watch for men who go to bathe leaving their wives or mothers in charge of their valuables. As soon as they spot such a woman, an 'oopardar' will sit down in front of her to ease himself. She at once turns her head to look the other way, and in slips the 'chawa' and is off with anything he can lay hands on. They watch Baniyas' shops, and whilst the Bania is haggling with the 'bypari,' the 'chawa' walks off with the bag of cash.

The Alampur 'thugs' have changed their name to 'Teerat-bashis.'

The Gwalior and Datia 'thugs' call themselves 'Chandr-behdis,' which I believe really means those that will not offend by night or under the light of the moon; they will not commit a theft at night for anything; they think it unlucky.

Towards Neemuch, I believe, they go by the name of 'Byparis.'

In the North-Western Provinces and Native State of Orchha and Central Provinces they are better known as 'Sonarias.' In former days only Brahmins belonged to this class, but it is now common to other castes. They are very clever at whipping things out of tents, dodging the sentries in a very clever but simple way.

The following vocabulary may prove useful if not already known:—

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| a shawl | ... | ... | ... | beenjila. |
| a lotah | ... | ... | ... | peani. |
| a gun | ... | ... | ... | bharakni. |
| a sword | ... | ... | ... | dharaie. |
| a bundle | ... | ... | ... | kutaria. |
| a box | ... | ... | ... | chirayia. |
| a blanket | ... | ... | ... | rungatiaio. |
| a purse | ... | ... | ... | bagori. |
| a pearl | ... | ... | ... | mijna. |
| a coral | ... | ... | ... | lalpa. |
| gold | ... | ... | ... | siand. |
| silver | ... | ... | ... | ooban. |
| copper pice | ... | ... | ... | daure. |
| a man | ... | ... | ... | nimtha. |
| a woman | ... | ... | ... | sainti. |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| a prostitute | ... | ... | mangania. |
| a boy | ... | ... | tulara. |
| a girl | ... | ... | chaie. |
| theft | ... | ... | gamaie and killaie. |
| dhoti | ... | ... | pund phuttoo. |
| pagri | ... | ... | kythi. |
| angarka | ... | ... | taniar. |
| angarki | ... | ... | taniaie. |
| bangles | ... | ... | bardula. |
| gunj | ... | ... | pit-goosa. |
| nose-ring | ... | ... | nakoli. |
| elephant | ... | ... | sondia. |
| camel | ... | ... | lumna. |
| horse | ... | ... | phurka. |
| bullock | ... | ... | katwa. |
| cart | ... | ... | dharkni. |
| tent | ... | ... | khol. |
| money-lender | ... | ... | tallia. |
| thanadar | ... | ... | thola |
| policeman | ... | ... | lokia. |
| rajah | ... | ... | barukri. |
| zamindar | ... | ... | khadka. |
| sahib | ... | ... | kongia. |
| bania | ... | ... | sirwa. |
| attah | ... | ... | khunja. |
| ghee | ... | ... | tooph. |
| wood | ... | ... | banari. |
| fire | ... | ... | keoli. |
| fire-place | ... | ... | bithula. |
| a dog | ... | ... | do. |
| to bury property | ... | ... | reh karei. |
| to sell property | ... | ... | kunj-i-ao. |
| a boy chawa is caught | ... | ... | tekboh. |
| a stick | ... | ... | benari. |
| a thali | ... | ... | thanki. |

They worship the goddess 'Devi.' They perform the 'Sath Narayan-ki-Katha' ceremony, or in other words, distribute part of the proceeds in charity. This is done by all dacoits and professionals.

If any of these men are caught in Native States and put into jail, they refuse to eat, and plead that they are poor Brahmins and feign dying, and thus often get out of jail.

I have no doubt that most of what I have stated is stale news to most District Superintendents of Police, but perhaps all do not know where to trace these men to, as I know from experience that they seldom or ever give correct names and residences.

The following villages in Datia contain these gentlemen, some in small, others in large numbers :—(1) Rarwa, (2) Parari, (3) Amaoli, (4) Mahona, (5) Rohoni, (6) Bagpura, (7) Cheena, (8) Digwa, (9) Bhagwapura, (10) Rampura, (11) Marseni, (12) Chamgan, (13) Katonda, (14) Eongri, (15) Jaroli, (16) Murgawan, (17) Katapur, (18) Unchio, (19) Korelta, (20) Rajora.

In Indore State, Alampur pargana—(1) Salaon, (2) Bhitari, (3) Burko, (4) Khuja, (5) Hussanpur.

In Gwalior bordering Datia, Indore—(1) Gondari, (2) Maithano, (3) Imilia, (4) Sora in the Daboh pargana.

APPENDIX VI.

Newsarias.

Extract from the *United Provinces Criminal Intelligence Gazette* dated 1st August 1906.

Allahabad, August 1st.—A reference to this office was made by the Criminal Investigation Department, Simla, regarding a class of criminals known as 'Newsarias.' It had been noted that their *modus operandi* was similar to that of Sonorias and Chandrawedis.

This is apparently not so: the latter are addicted to the crimes of 'picking pockets' and of 'shop-lifting,' both of which offences are known in this country as '*uthaigiri*.'

The 'Sonorias' and the 'Chandrawedis' are not a caste, but a fraternity.

The 'Newsarias,' however, cannot be classed in this way. They are merely called Newsarias because of their pursuit. They are primarily card-sharpers, and the particular game which they affect is that known as '*nausars*.'

'Nausar,' and for that reason they are called 'Nausarbaz' or 'Nausaria.' The game is played with an ordinary pack of cards. Hands consist of three cards, and the highest hand that can be held is three aces, which is known as *nausar* from the fact that the holder of that hand receives nine times the value of stakes from the other players.

There are two other hands known as *sesar* and *dusar* which entitle the holders to three times and twice their stakes.

Incidentally, in order to attract players of means, one of the party is frequently dressed as a 'nawab,' and stories are circulated by the rest of the party as to his wealth and his fondness for gambling. When they have succeeded in collecting a number of players, they play *nausar*, or possibly some other game, and it is found that the strangers always lose. From this habit of personating a 'nawab' it has been thought that 'newsara' is a form of cheating by such personation, and not merely of cheating at cards.

APPENDIX VII.

Bhatras.

The following is a useful note culled from the *Special Supplement to the Panjáb Police Gazette* dated 18th January 1907, and the *Supplement to the Panjáb Police Gazette* dated 9th August 1905, on Bhatras.

Note on Bhatras, dated the 9th August 1904, by W. A. Gayer, Esq., Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.

Bhatras are a small tribe of swindlers who have settled themselves in Sialkot district of the Panjáb. They are said to have come originally from Ceylon and have since divided into two sects—the Mona Bhatras and the Sikh Bhatras.

The Mona Bhatras claim to be Brahmans, wear the sacred thread, and observe all the ceremonies of the Sanatan Hindus, but are looked down on by orthodox Brahmans because of their practice of collecting charity at the times of eclipse, when only the lowest classes of beggars are supposed to do so.

The Sikh Bhatras eat goat's flesh and observe the Sikh custom of killing the animal to be eaten with one stroke of a sword: otherwise they follow the tenets of the Mona, except that they do not wear the sacred thread. They wear their hair long like other Sikhs, but preserve to themselves the right to cut it and shave, if this should be necessary for purposes of disguise. This reservation is probably a privilege self assumed to meet the necessities of the swindling profession to which they belong.

In their own district the conduct of the Bhatras is most circumspect. They have, I believe, never been caught stealing or taking part in any of the more exciting classes of crime against property, nor do they carry on their swindling practices in or near their own district. Probably with the object of outwardly appearing what they profess to be, merely beggars and fortune-tellers, Bhatras live in their own villages in the most squalid style, several living together crowded into a room which would barely hold two in even such slight comfort as is ordinarily desired by the poorest classes of native society. They can, therefore, once safely home, defy the police to touch them under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure

Code, and live in perfect security and spend their money on drink and in gambling, the chief vices to which they are addicted.

The particular form of swindling adopted by Bhatras is collecting sums of money for charities and appropriating what they obtain. They are great adepts at disguise and travel as Sanyasi or Udasi Fakirs, Bairagis, Sikhs, Brahmans, etc., and professing to be delegates from certain temples, schools, hospitals or other charitable institutions, collect subscriptions from sympathizers. They have lists on which donors enter their names and the amounts subscribed, and as they obtain well-known names so their lists become more valuable, as such names lend to them a sort of guarantee of good faith, and often quite large sums are secured from rich and religiously-minded *samindars*. The individual sums collected are, however, generally small and being so are the more safely taken, as the subscriber of a small sum is far less likely to enquire into its safe arrival at its destination than would be the giver of a liberal contribution. That these small sums amount to a considerable total, however, is shown by the fact that four out of a gang of five Bhatras were arrested in Bengal on suspicion and searched, money-order receipts to the amount of Rs. 1,611 being discovered on them, these dated from 1900 to May 1904, and as they had been despatched from Bombay, Central Provinces, Bengal and Assam, it would seem that during that time these men must have spent much on travelling and on themselves, so this amount, merely representing profits, must have been only a small portion of the sums actually made. At the time the District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, was communicated with, and reported 450 members of this tribe as absent from their homes; if all these have been equally successful, at a rough estimate that we could put down their profits only at well over a quarter of a lakh of rupees a year.

Before a gang starts on tour, the members are said to appoint a *chaudri* to whom all communications are addressed and all money-orders sent. This however is doubtful, as the money-orders found in the above case were all addressed to various members of the family of the head of the gang, and on one or two occasions to outside persons to whom money was owed. The head-man of this gang was about sixty years of age, and the youngest member a lad of twelve, showing that Bhatras begin young and work to a good age.

The chief villages in which these Bhatras reside are—

- (1) Daska (new and old), tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (2) Ghalotian (Kalan), tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (3) Bhandewal, tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (4) Kampur, near Badoka, tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (5) Two small villages near Narowal, tehsil Daska, Sialkot.
- (6) Dhariwal Suraj, tehsil Raya, Sialkot.

A few members of the sect are said to have settled in Hyderabad (Sind), Surat, Karáchi, and other places in that vicinity. They are also said to be settling in Amritsar, Multán and Hardwar, and some are said to have settled in Southern India. Their chief shrine, and one to which all Bhatras subscribe liberally, is at Bhadowall in Sialkot.

Their field for wandering is practically unlimited, as they are said to have paid visit at times to Kabul, Persia, Baluchistan, Ceylon and Burma, and are known to travel over the whole of India. They are said to be excessively good at picking up languages and so to have little trouble wherever they go.

I would propose that this note be sent to the District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, for verification and such further details as he may be able to supply.

Note on Bhatras by A. C. Stewart, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot.

(1) In the *Mahabharat* and *Sanghasan Batisi* it is recorded that one Madho Nal, a Brahman Rishi, who was well versed in singing and poetry, fell in love with and married a dancing girl named Kam Kundala. From these two persons are descended the tribe of Madhwas commonly known as Bhatras. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, when exempting the tribe from *tirni*—or taxation—refers to them as Madhwas, descendants of Madho, as can be proved by an original *parwana* dated 7th Assuj, Sambat 1866, to his governors, which is still in the possession of one Pirthi Das, Bhatra of Dhariwal. The term 'Bhatra' is a diminutive of the Sanskrit word *bhat*, a poet, and has been applied to the tribe because Madho was himself fond of quoting poetry.

Madho was born and lived all his life in Ceylon, and there is no evidence of any of his descendants immigrating into India before the time of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. In

the reign of Babar, Guru Nanak visited Ceylon, and there became acquainted with Changa, an influential Madho or Bhatra, who became his disciple. It is recorded in the *Ad Granth* that Changa's followers were so many that twenty maunds of salt were consumed daily with their meals. Large numbers of Bhatras were converted to Sikhism, and when Guru Nanak returned to India they accompanied him. A Sikh temple known as *Dera Baba* was built in Ceylon in memory of Guru Nanak, and the place where this temple is erected is the original home of the Bhatras, who are now domiciled in India.

(2) The Bhatras are divided into 22 clans, of which 13
 Tribal sub-divisions. reside in the Sialkot District, and are
 known as Bhotiwal, Lande, Digwa,
 Gamee, Kag, Lohi, Bhoti, Gojra, Rathaur, Kasba, Rod,
 Bhains and Lar.

(3) The tribe first settled in (1) the Bijnaur District (United Provinces) on the banks of Ganges, (2) the Hoshiarpur District (Panjáb), (3) the Sialkot District (Panjáb), but they have since dispersed in all directions, and large number of Bhatras are now reported to be settled in Calcutta, Howrah, Shikárpur, Hyderabad (Sind), Karáchi, Quetta, Rohri, Bhakkar, Pesháwar, Ráwalpindi, Multán, Delhi, Talagang, Tarn Taran, Tibar (Gurdáspur District), Rahon (Jalandhar District), and Gungroli (Ludhiána District).

(4) It is stated that there are some 40 villages of Bhatras along the banks of the Ganges, chiefly in that part of the Bijnaur District known as *Dadra Des*, the best known of which are Padli, Aldaur, Bassera, Lipkee, Narangli and Nurpur. Many of the Bhatras of these villages are *Banjaras* (pedlars) who wander far and wide selling worthless articles required by women for ornamental purposes. Others are vendors of so-called Vedic medicines. A not uncommon practice is to obtain a written and stamped agreement from a gullible sufferer that if he recovers he will pay Rs. 50 or so. The chief hunting grounds of the Bijnaur District Bhatras are the large towns and cities on the banks of the sacred rivers Jumna and the Ganges, especially at the time of eclipse and other religious fairs, when Hindus give alms liberally: but like other Bhatras they wander practically all over India.

(5) The chief Bhatra villages of the Hoshiarpur District are Pachnangli, Baba Kalu, Bassi Bhai Mallo, Bassi Wazir, Dhagaon, Gori and Kot. With few exceptions the Bhatras of the Hoshiarpur District are all true Sikhs, but the children

under 12 shave their heads. They pose as magicians and pretend by looking into a cup of oil to foretell the future, and chiefly frequent the Kangra District.

(6) Bhatras in the Sialkot District are located in eleven villages as below :—

| Village. | Police-station jurisdiction. | Tehsil. | Numbers. |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Kot Daska | Daska | Daska | 182 |
| Daska Kalan | Do. | Do. | 241 |
| Bhadewala | Do. | Do. | 535 |
| Nikka Kaila | Do. | Do. | 30 |
| Korpur | Samberial | Do. | 32 |
| Galotian Kalan | Dharamkot | Do. | 389 |
| Dhariwal | Talwandi Bhindran | Raya | 332 |
| Saraj | Do. | Do. | 53 |
| Gota | Do. | Do. | 43 |
| Sarjapur | Do. | Do. | 8 |
| Dadian | Do. | Do. | 15 |
| Total number of Bhatras | | | 1,860 |

They may be divided roughly into two parts, (*a*) those residing in Kot Daska, Daska Kalan, Bhadewala, Nikka Kaila, Korpur, Galotian Kalan, (*b*) Dhariwal, Saraj, Gota, Sarjapur, Dadian. The former (*a*) are true Sikhs and observe all the Sikh customs. They do not take false names when on tour, though often they wear the garb of Gurus or rather Akalis and pose as Nihangs. The Bhatras of Galotian and Bhadewala however have lately shown a tendency to disguise themselves as Bairagi Sadhus.

The latter (*b*) are not orthodox Sikhs in so much as they are nearly all smokers and *jata-dharis* (wearers of long matted hair). When on tour they call themselves *Das* instead of *Singh*, wear *langotis*, cover their heads and bodies with ashes, carry iron tongs and behave as Udyasi *fakirs*. Whilst all are swindlers living on their wits, those shown under (*a*) chiefly practise astrology, and such like, and thus prey on the credulity of their victims. Those classed under (*b*) pose as delegates of certain temples and *chelas* of *mahants* and collect subscriptions from pious Hindus.

A form of deception which is peculiar to, and practised only by, some Bhatras of Daska is to make an indelible mark round the neck, and call themselves *Husaini Brahmans*.

These men recite the genealogy and martyrdom of Husain and collect alms from Muhammadans. The origin of this custom emanated from a legend that a Brahman recovered the head of Hussain from some *kaffirs* who had carried it off, by substituting the head of his own son for it.

(7) Bhatras go on tour after the *Dewali* festival and return to their villages at the commencement of the rainy season. It may be said that all except the very young children and physically infirm males leave their villages. Sometimes, but not often, those classed under (a) are accompanied by their wives, especially if they have daughters of a marriageable age. It is stated that subscriptions are collected from *zamindars* for the marriage expenses and ceremonies of these latter; but the chief forms of swindling of all have been correctly described by Mr. Gayer. As a rule Bhatras do not travel in gangs of more than half a dozen, but they apparently have pre-arranged rendezvous where they meet before finally returning home. The money they collect is remitted chiefly through the post office, but it is said that within the last year some of them have taken to making remittances by means of *hundis*. It is alleged they have many agents in Amritsar, and in this office Confidential Note on Bhatras dated 14th March 1904, mention of one Mussammat Bhudan of that city was made, through whom they sell clothes and other articles collected in their travels.

(8) Out of a total of 1,860 male Bhatras over twelve years of age, residents of the Sialkot District, no less than 780 were found absent from their homes on or about 20th October. Of these absentees, about half may be considered as having permanently emigrated to various places, but they are in close touch with their brethren in Sialkot, whom they frequently visit.

The amount of money collected by Bhatras on their travels is far larger than is generally imagined. An examination of the post office registers showed that 190 money-orders aggregating Rs. 7,516 were paid from 1st October 1903 to 30th September 1904 to Bhatras of Saraj, Gota, Sarjapur and Dadian only. I attach a detailed list of these money-orders, which is instructive as illustrating the enormous distances these people travel and the chief months in which they make collections of money. To realise the extent of these net profits it must be remembered that the total number of male Bhatras in these four villages over twelve years of age is only

119, and as some of them were physically incapable of traveling, the average earnings of those actually on tour becomes very large indeed. And if the earnings of Bhatras in the remaining villages in Sialkot are calculated on the same scale, the money-order remittances only of the tribe are well over a lakh of rupees per annum.

(9) As stated by Mr. Gayer, Bhatras when at home live in the most squalid style. They are inveterate gamblers and as a rule heavy drinkers, and all their earnings appear to be squandered in these vices. Thirty-five members of the tribes in Sialkot have been convicted, chiefly under Chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code. About half of these convictions were obtained in outside districts.

Bhatras of Sialkot with few exceptions neither understand cultivation nor possess land; but the houses they occupy are their own property.

List of money-orders distributed by Branch Post Office, Gota, to the Bhatras of Gota, Saraj, Sarjapur and Dadian, from 1st October 1903 to 30th September 1904.

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue. | Name of remitter. | Name and residence of payee. | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1903. | | | | Rs. a. |
| 913 | 7 Oct. | Amar Kot | Nihal Singh | Buta Singh, Saraj | 24 0 |
| 486 | 14 " | Howrah | Nanak Singh | Munshi Singh, Gota | 10 0 |
| 922 | 26 " | Dehra Dun | Hari Ram | Mussammat Jando, Gota | 7 0 |
| 921 | 26 " | Do. | Do. | Do. Hardevi, Gota | 7 0 |
| 187 | 16 Nov. | Montgomery | Bhag Singh | Do. Malan, Gota | 5 0 |
| 7 | 21 " | Jullunder | Sohan Das | Do. do. Sarjapur | 10 0 |
| 8543 | 23 " | Girgaon | Sawan Singh | Sant Ram, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 1943 | 23 " | Lahore | Budha Singh | Nihala, Saraj | 24 0 |
| 8522 | 23 " | Girgaon | Ganga Singh | Do. Saraj | 90 0 |
| 8540 | 23 " | Do. | Do. | Dhanpat Rai, Saraj | 10 0 |
| 598 | 24 " | Pulogaon | Arur Singh | Mussammat Nihali, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 599 | 24 " | Do. | Teja Singh | Do. Jivan, Saraj | 35 0 |
| 366 | 26 " | Montgomery | Bhag Singh | Do. Malan, Gota | 2 0 |
| 655 | 27 " | Bombay | Sundar Das | Nihal Chand, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 192 | 28 " | Atras | Ganga Das | Do. Saraj | 100 0 |
| 918 | 30 " | Sagar, Sadr Bazar. | Do. | Mussammat Jivani, Gota | 25 0 |
| 917 | 30 " | Do. | Lal Das | Do. Budhan, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 549 | 30 " | Talhara (Akola). | Mohan Das | Do. Malan, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 498 | 1 Dec. | Sikanderabad | Bhagwan Das | Do. Ati, Saraj | 400 0 |
| 3700 | 1 " | Gorakpur | Jawahir Singh | Ganesh Das, Gota | 40 0 |
| 8897 | 3 " | Bombay | Sharu Das | Mukand Das, Gota | 50 0 |
| 8896 | 3 " | Do. | Ganga Das | Mussammat Jivan, Saraj | 125 0 |
| 4257 | 7 " | Gorakpur | Katasia Singh | Do. Budhan, Saraj | 12 12 |
| 629 | 8 " | Sikanderabad | Bhagwan Das | Do. Ati, Saraj | 75 0 |
| 954 | 9 " | Poona | Sukhran | Do. Utni, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 856 | 12 " | Kharakpur | Ganga Das | Do. Jivani, Gota | 37 0 |
| 860 | 12 " | Do. | Lal Das | Do. Budhan, Gota | 30 0 |
| 95 | 14 " | Gurgaon | Ganda Das | Do. Jivan, Saraj | 75 0 |

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue. | Name of remitter. | Name and residence of payee. | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| | | | | | Rs. a. |
| 182 | 15 Dec. | Kurdadi | Sonehra Singh... | Para Singh, Saraj | 35 0 |
| 183 | 15 " | Do. | Sadhu Das | Nihal Chand, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 184 | 15 " | Do. | Hardit Das | Do, Saraj | 150 0 |
| 473 | 17 " | Jubbulpur | Nand Das | Mussammat Santo, Gota | 50 0 |
| 841 | 21 " | Aurangabad | Sant Das | Bura, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 2659 | 21 " | Bara Bazar, Calcutta. | Jawinda Singh | Mussammat Bhagri, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 289 | 21 " | Butal | Tehl Das | Do. Bhagan, Saraj | 115 0 |
| 1420 | 28 " | Bhawani | Asa Das | Do. Aso, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 651 | 21 " | Gurgaon | Ganda Singh | Do. Jivan, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 971 | 21 " | Vewli | Sham Das | Karm Singh, Dadian | 100 0 |
| 1093 | 22 " | Lyalpur | Mela Singh | Gurmukh Singh, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 200 | 23 " | Manjpur | Hira Das | Pindi Das, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 173 | 30 " | Belgaon | Ganga Singh | Kama Singh, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 286 | 30 " | Do. | Do. | Mussammat Premi, Gota | 50 0 |
| 715 | 30 " | Howrah | Jawahir Singh | Sardul Singh, Gota | 40 0 |
| 131 | 31 " | Phagwara | Damodhar Das | Mussammat Gangi, Gota | 25 0 |
| | 1904. | | | | |
| 1917 | 4 Jan. | Howrah | Ganga Das | Mussammat Jivan, Gota | 60 0 |
| 1918 | 4 " | Do. | Nihal Das | Do. Gangi, Gota | 100 0 |
| 1912 | 4 " | Do. | Lal Singh | Ganga Singh, Gota | 20 0 |
| 252 | 5 " | Meharpur | Bura Das | Khera Das, Gota | 25 0 |
| 476 | 6 " | Howrah | Moti Das | Mussammat Bhagwan Devi, Saraj. | 200 0 |
| 364 | 7 " | Jubbulpur | Bittu Singh | Nihala, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 604 | 8 " | Ras Road | Bura Singh | Utmi, Saraj | 28 0 |
| 733 | 8 " | Do. | Habel Singh | Mussammat Kishen Devi, Saraj. | 40 0 |
| 738 | 8 " | Do. | Buta Das | Lochman Singh, Gota | 20 0 |
| 737 | 8 " | Do. | Gopal Das | Nihal Singh, Gota | 30 0 |
| 18 | 8 " | Gowhatti | Ganda Das | Nihala, Saraj | 40 0 |
| 15 | 8 " | Do. | Jia Das | Lochman Singh, Gota | 50 0 |
| 603 | 8 " | Ras Road | Badhawa Singh | Mussammat Budhan, Saraj | 18 0 |
| 48 | 11 " | Calcutta | Do. | Do. Mango, Saraj | 30 0 |
| 341 | 11 " | Heli | Sohan Singh | Do. Nidhana, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 2963 | 13 " | Howrah | Amra Singh | Sardul Singh, Gota | 23 0 |
| 2948 | 13 " | Do. | Gori Das | Wadhawa Singh, Saraj | 15 0 |
| 39 | 14 " | Nauder | Jiwan Singh | Mussammat Ati, Saraj | 95 0 |
| 35 | 14 " | Do. | Katha Singh | Pindi Das, Saraj | 38 0 |
| 2946 | 13 " | Howrah | Johri Singh | Wadhawa Singh, Saraj | 15 0 |
| 1189 | 18 " | Ras Road | Sohan Singh | Bhagwan Das, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 103 | 19 " | Nauder | Sant Das | Pindi Das, Saraj | 22 0 |
| 941 | 20 " | Tanda | Diwan Singh | Mussammat Chandan, Saraj | 12 0 |
| 1661 | 25 " | Ras Road | Nand Singh | Do. Santo, Gota | 25 0 |
| 967 | 26 " | Lordganj | Sham Das | Sham Das, Saraj | 22 0 |
| 251 | 26 " | Ranchi | Ganda Singh | Mussammat Budhan, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 312 | 26 " | Balapur | Do. | Do. Kirpa Devi, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 311 | 26 " | Do. | Mathra Das | Do. Bhagan, Saraj | 125 0 |
| 208 | 27 " | Chandak (Madras). | Ganga Singh | Karam Chand, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 1694 | 27 " | Howrah | Do. | Mussammat Jivan, Gota | 29 0 |
| 163 | 27 " | Sujanpur Tera | Khushala Singh | Do. Aso, Saraj | 30 0 |
| 729 | 29 " | Barly (Monimabad). | Baga Singh | Ganga Ram, Gota | 25 0 |
| 242 | 30 " | Sileva | Nowak Singh | Munshi Ram, Gota | 25 0 |
| 585 | 2 Feb. | Indore | Wadhawa Singh | Mussammat Ati, Saraj | 20 0 |
| 280 | 3 " | Nauder | Sham Singh | Karm Singh, Gota | 35 0 |
| 174 | 6 " | Raegaon (Akola) | Wadhawa Das | Nihala, Saraj | 55 0 |
| 172 | 6 " | Do. do. | Ganga Das | Divan Singh, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 175 | 6 " | Do. do. | Kala Singh | Munshi Singh, Gota | 32 0 |

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue. | Name of remitter. | Name and residence of payee. | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1904. | | | | Ra. a. |
| 579 | 8 Feb. | Umrit | Hira Das | Pindi Das, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 204 | 8 " | Khangaon | Gurdial Singh | Mussammat Ati, Saraj | 75 0 |
| 202 | 8 " | Do. | Kala Singh | Sant Singh, Saraj | 20 0 |
| 920 | 9 " | Tanda Wali Muhammad Khan. | Garja Singh | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj | 14 0 |
| 810 | 11 " | Hamirpur | Nihal Singh | Do. Budhan, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 564 | 12 " | Sharalun | Ganda Das | Do. Jivan, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 767 | 13 " | Howrah | Jawahri Das | Sardul Singh, Gota | 60 0 |
| 335 | 11 " | Shah Kot | Mangh Singh | Mussammat Budhan, Saraj | 12 8 |
| 45 | 16 " | Aurangabad | Jivan Das | Do. Ati, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 1434 | 16 " | Marsaria | Garib Das | Man Singh, Gota | 10 0 |
| 43 | 16 " | Aurangabad | Katha Singh | Pindi Das, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 660 | 19 " | Lahore | Radha Sham | Gurmukh Das, Saraj | 5 0 |
| 659 | 19 " | Do. | Do. | Do. Saraj | 25 0 |
| 601 | 20 " | Balapur | Ganga Das | Divan Singh, Saraj | 34 0 |
| 773 | 22 " | Gwalior | Ditta Singh | Nihala, Saraj | 40 0 |
| 774 | 22 " | Do. | Nihal Singh and Tirath Singh. | Nihala Shah, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 615 | 22 " | Firozpur | Dial Das | Mussammat Gangi, Gota | 60 0 |
| 679 | 22 " | Bania | Natha Das | Dhanpat (Sahukar), Saraj | 60 0 |
| 680 | 22 " | Do. | Sukhu Das | Nihala, Saraj | 60 0 |
| 260 | 23 " | Khairpur | Nihal Singh | Buta Singh, Saraj | 30 0 |
| 1887 | 23 " | Howrah | Sawan Singh | Mussammat Bhagwan Devi, Saraj. | 5 0 |
| 1723 | 23 " | Bara Bazar | Wadhawa Das | Khera Das, Gota | 10 0 |
| 1079 | 24 " | Ras Road | Jivan Das | Mussammat Bhagan, Saraj | 28 0 |
| 100 | 26 " | Baij Nath | Labhu | Do. Budhi, Saraj | 10 0 |
| 2290 | 26 " | Sukhnam | Lal Singh | Jai Kishen, Gota | 12 0 |
| 1314 | 26 " | Riwa | Asa Das | Mussammat Aso, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 395 | 29 " | Cawnpore | Lal Singh | Karm Singh, Gota | 25 0 |
| 231 | 1 Mar. | Mandalay | Nanak Singh | Mussammat Tabo, Gota | 25 0 |
| 637 | 2 " | Daropka (Kangra). | Atma Das | Do. Murmi, Dadian | 35 0 |
| 638 | 2 " | Do. do. | Do. | Do. do. Dadian | 33 8 |
| 953 | 3 " | Nadson | Kalo Singh | Do. do. Dadian | 15 0 |
| 311 | 7 " | Pinda Khar | Sant Das | Pindi Das, Saraj | 56 0 |
| 441 | 8 " | Gulberga | Ganga Singh | Karm Chand, Saraj | 100 0 |
| 1744 | 8 " | Etawah | Sunder Sing | Mussammat Ati, Saraj | 25 0 |
| 1612 | 9 " | Jubbulpore | Ganga Das | Do. Jivani, Gota | 15 0 |
| 306 | 10 " | Aulukswar | Lal Das | Do. Premi, Saraj | 60 0 |
| 893 | 11 " | Jawala Mukhi | Nihala | Do. do. Gota | 25 0 |
| 220 | 11 " | Surat | Hira Das | Nehal Chand, Saraj | 34 0 |
| 282 | 11 " | Gurdaspur | Nabhu | Mussammat Budhi, Saraj | 10 0 |
| 884 | 11 " | Calcutta | Jawahri Das | Sardul Singh, Gota | 30 0 |
| 894 | 12 " | Jawala Mukhi | Utam | Mussammat Premi, Gota | 5 0 |
| 731 | 14 " | Nander | Fakir Das (Udasi Sadhu). | Do. Bhagan, Saraj | 60 0 |
| 2945 | 14 " | Collectorganj | Natha Das | Dhanpat, Saraj | 40 0 |
| 583 | 14 " | Kamalia | Labhu Singh | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj | 21 0 |
| 720 | 14 " | Nander | Tehl Das | Do. Bhagan, Saraj | 125 0 |
| 724 | 14 " | Do. | Haveli Das | Do. Sidhi, Saraj | 10 0 |
| 728 | 14 " | Do. | Ganda Das | Do. Ishri, Saraj | 23 0 |
| 189 | 15 " | Azimganj (Murshidabad). | Jivan Das | Do. Bhagan, Saraj | 37 0 |
| 630 | 16 " | Chatgaon | Lahna Das | Lochman Singh, Gota | 50 0 |
| 1388 | 16 " | Howrah | Ishar Singh | Sadho Singh, Saraj | 50 0 |
| 380 | 16 " | Surat | Sant Das | Mussammat Mohandevi, Gota. | 26 0 |
| 1344 | 18 " | Rajabpur (Murshidabad). | Khushal Singh | Bakhshish Singh, Dadian | 35 0 |
| 2492 | 21 " | Poona | Ganda Das | Mussammat Jivan, Saraj | 80 0 |
| 1744 | 21 " | Howrah | Do. | Didar Singh, Saraj | 40 0 |

| No. of money-order. | Date of issue. | Office of issue. | Name of remitter. | Name and residence of payee. | Amount of money-order. |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1904. | | | | Rs. a. |
| 502 | 23 Mar. | Harda (Hoshangabad). | Ganga Das ... | Mussammat Jivan, Gota ... | 10 0 |
| 501 | 23 " | Do. | Dial Das ... | Do. Gangi, Gota ... | 20 0 |
| 1113 | 20 " | Harappa | Mahan Das ... | Do. Jamni, Dadian ... | 20 0 |
| 534 | 28 " | Rorian | Hara Singh ... | Do. Jivan, Gota ... | 14 0 |
| 241 | 29 " | Hyderabad, Sindh. | Gujar Singh ... | Dhanpat, Saraj ... | 18 0 |
| 240 | 29 " | Do. | Do. ... | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj ... | 42 0 |
| 7820 | 29 " | Girgaon | Jivandas ... | Do. Ati, Saraj ... | 40 0 |
| 709 | 30 " | Aurangabad | Sham Das ... | Karam Singh, Gota ... | 50 0 |
| 706 | 30 " | Bhagwanpur | Hokam Singh ... | Karur Singh, Gota ... | 34 0 |
| 562 | 31 " | Samandri | Kaka Singh ... | Mussammat Hari, Gota ... | 41 0 |
| 272 | 1 Apr. | Patna | Jawanda ... | Do. Bhagan, Saraj ... | 39 0 |
| 528 | 1 " | Nawada | Karur Singh ... | Buta, Saraj ... | 10 0 |
| 1004 | 1 " | Howrah | Guru Das ... | Man Singh, Gota ... | 8 0 |
| 3439 | 6 " | Benares | Nand Singh ... | Mussammat Santo, Gota ... | 25 0 |
| 454 | 6 " | Bejnath (Kangra). | Labhu ... | Do. Budhi, Saraj ... | 10 0 |
| 64 | 14 " | Jalna | Nanak Singh ... | Nihala (Sahukar), Saraj ... | 20 0 |
| 65 | 14 " | Do. | Hakam Singh ... | Sarup Singh, Saraj ... | 25 0 |
| 8593 | 15 " | Girgaon | Akar Das ... | Asa Singh, Saraj ... | 50 0 |
| 1137 | 16 " | Bala | Budha Das ... | Mussammat Bhagan, Saraj ... | 100 0 |
| 33 | 18 " | Lahore | Rudha Sam ... | Gurmukh, Saraj ... | 10 0 |
| 563 | 19 " | Bejnath | Kaka Das ... | Mussammat Moni, Gota ... | 20 0 |
| 565 | 19 " | Do. | Buta Das ... | Lochman Singh, Gota ... | 19 8 |
| 593 | 22 " | Firozepur | Santu ... | Mussammat Hari, Saraj ... | 45 0 |
| 908 | 7 " | Dharmasala | Nihala Singh ... | Do. Premi, Gota ... | 25 0 |
| 663 | 7 " | Bejnath | Kaka Das ... | Do. Munni, Dadian ... | 20 0 |
| 1963 | 7 " | Aligarh | Khushal Singh ... | Dhanpat Shah, Saraj ... | 25 0 |
| 225 | 9 " | Bhaggo (Simla) | Ladha Singh ... | Pindi Shah, Saraj ... | 21 0 |
| 765 | 9 " | Polu (Lahore) | Ishar Das ... | Ram Kaur, Saraj ... | 20 0 |
| 471 | 10 " | Benares | Jawahri Das ... | Sardul Singh, Gota ... | 25 0 |
| 813 | 16 " | Bejnath | Buta Das ... | Lochman Singh, Gota ... | 50 0 |
| 390 | 17 " | Firozepur | Sant Ram ... | Mussammat Budhi, Saraj ... | 40 0 |
| 854 | 19 " | Chamba | Besakhi Das ... | Do. Premi, Gota ... | 12 0 |
| 877 | 19 " | Darwah | Bagga Das ... | Ganda Singh, Gota ... | 25 0 |
| 283 | 21 " | Dharmasala | Chet Das ... | Sundar Das, Saraj ... | 18 0 |
| 866 | 23 " | Dadal (Kangra) | Sham Das ... | Mussammat Khemo, Saraj ... | 11 0 |
| 167 | 23 " | Do. | Phaggu Ram ... | Do. Bhagan, Saraj ... | 25 0 |
| 148 | 23 " | Sherkhpura | Buta Singh ... | Do. Premi, Dadian ... | 20 0 |
| 494 | 23 " | Firozepur | Mula Singh ... | Karam Singh, Gota ... | 10 0 |
| 302 | 24 " | Lakhi Lara | Wadhawa Das ... | Khera Das, Gota ... | 20 0 |
| 499 | 24 " | Firozepur | Asa Singh ... | Mussammat Premi, Gota ... | 25 0 |
| 1138 | 25 " | Karachi | Mangli Singh ... | Do. Ishro, Saraj ... | 9 0 |
| 1266 | 25 " | Lyallpur | Nihal Singh ... | Dhanpat Shah, Saraj ... | 40 0 |
| 589 | 30 " | Kangra | Buta Das ... | Lochman Singh, Gota ... | 25 0 |
| 863 | 1 " | Kalupur (Admadabad). | Moti Das ... | Sut, Das, Saraj ... | 101 0 |
| 863 | 1 " | Kalupur | Ganga Das ... | Musammat Bhagwan Devi, Saraj ... | 50 0 |
| 866 | 1 " | Do. | Gurdit Singh ... | Do. do. ... | 50 0 |
| 149 | 7 " | Karachi | Nihal Singh ... | Mussammat Ishri, Saraj ... | 20 0 |
| 553 | 8 " | Sialkot | Superintendent, Post Office. | Do. Ati, Saraj ... | 23 0 |
| 820 | 15 " | Kasur | Haveli Singh ... | Do. Aso, Saraj ... | 25 0 |
| 827 | 15 " | Firozepur | Chanda Singh ... | Do. Jivani, Gota ... | 10 0 |
| 828 | 15 " | Do. | Ata Singh ... | Puran Singh, Gota ... | 23 0 |
| 451 | 28 " | Do. | Asa Singh ... | Gunga Singh, Gota ... | 8 0 |
| 133 | 20 Aug. | Gegera | Nihal Das ... | Sadhu, Saraj ... | 10 0 |
| 2879 | 15 Sept. | Berabada | Nanak Das ... | Bodhu, Saraj ... | 21 0 |
| Total | | | | | 7,516 4 |

The mode of cheating adopted by these men is :—

First.—They visit different residents (European and native) in every town they go to and pass themselves off as either fakirs, pandits, or fortune-tellers. They produce a two-fold sheet of paper upon which is the sketch of a cow or witch. This is drawn with a piece of alum, and cannot be noticed till such time as the paper is placed in water. Upon the paper being so placed, the figure of a cow or witch appears distinctly. If the figure of the witch should appear, the person about to be cheated is told that the witch was about to kill him, or her (as the case may be), but through witchcraft (*mantar*) they have removed the witch, otherwise death was certain.

Secondly.—Should the figure of a cow appear, they tell the person that some time or other he tortured a cow; and that the cow is now cursing him. But having produced the cow's form or figure through magic, they have saved the person concerned.

The person on seeing either of the figures appears to get quite timid, and seeing this opportunity, the cheat or swindler tells him that the only way to be saved is to make a donation either in gold, silver or clothes. At first they demand gold or silver, telling the person it is the best offering to make, but in the event of not being able to procure gold or silver they accept clothes.

Another way in which they swindle the public is by carrying about a thin piece of iron which is similar in shape to a pair of fire-tongs (*chimtas*). They visit the houses of Europeans and natives, and after interviewing their servants and ascertaining particulars regarding the occupants, they send word by the servants that a sacred fakir wishes to tell them their fortunes. On being admitted, the fakir places the iron tongs into water with some salt and other ingredients. As soon as the tongs are placed in the water, sparks fly out and the tongs separate. He then tells the individual concerned his fortune, particulars of which he had previously obtained from the servant. When the fakir finds he has charmed the 'looker-on,' he informs him that he has some girls to marry and is therefore in need of money and asks the persons to give something towards the subscription.

The fakir further states he has opened an institution as an orphanage in his village where orphan children are fed, clothed and educated. The person hearing all this, and noticing the fakir's appearance, sympathises with him and gives him money, etc.

APPENDIX VIII.

Pans of Orissa.

The following is an interesting report by Mr. R. Clarke, Superintendent of Police, Angul, on the Pans of Orissa, which appeared in the *Extra Supplement to the Police Gazette of the Central Provinces* dated 27th June 1906.

The Gurjat Pan, like his brother in the 'Mogulbandi,' is a semi-aborigine. He calls himself a Hindu and has caste rules, but Brahmans will have nothing to do with him, and he is in fact a *pariah*, imitating the Hindus in some ways and giving full rein to his aboriginal instincts in others. The word '*pan*' is a contraction of the Sanskrit '*parna*' and means a cave-dweller.

The Pans form about 18 per cent. of the population of the Gurjats. In Angul they number 28,841, or roughly 14 per cent. of the inhabitants. In Dhenkanal State they form 25 per cent., and in the other States their number varies between these figures.

The majority of the tribe are landless, and those that hold lands are very indifferent cultivators, ever ready to mortgage and sell their holdings, and incapable of tackling difficult or uncleared land. Even village *chaukidars* seldom cultivate their small *jagir* of five acres, the majority being leased out to their 'Chasa' neighbours in *bhāg*.

The hereditary profession of the Pans is weaving, but this is only regularly followed by a very small section of the tribe. When cross-questioned, a Pan will invariably say, 'I am a weaver,' but this means nothing, and sounds better than saying 'I am a thief,' which would be the truth. All Pans weave occasionally for their own wants, and they are kept in touch with their handicraft by pretty regular visits to jail.

The Pans bear a very bad reputation among their neighbours; in fact the worst form of abuse one can offer to a respectable man in the Gurjats is to call him a Pan. It is also very noticeable that though the Kotghur rules allow any Pan to be exempt who can get a respectable man to give a bond for him, in no case has this been done. Still in many ways these social outcasts sway the higher castes around

them. They are pluckier, and therefore in request for services requiring personal courage. They do a certain amount of watch and ward. If a cartman is travelling at night he takes a few Pans with him. If a *semindar* wants backing up in a land dispute, he hires Pans. In this way they are useful, and are therefore tolerated in spite of their evil ways.

Theft is bred in the bone of the Gurjat Pan, but his evolution into a dangerous criminal belongs to the last twenty years, and is an interesting, if small, example of one of the problems of Indian Jail administration. In olden days the Pan was a cattle-lifter in neighbouring States, a cattle-poisoner in his own State, and a pilferer everywhere; but he rarely committed burglary, and never dacoity; of late years, equipped with the excellent criminal training which can now be obtained in a central jail, he has taken to gang dacoity with murder, and is, in the opinion of the writer, going to give serious trouble in the future, unless steps are taken to reorganize the police forces of the Gurjat States, which are at present useless. Crime marches with civilization, and when the Tributary States are more opened up and railways come, one may venture to predict that the Gurjat Pan will make every use of his chances. Possessed of the cunning of the Dom and the physique of the Bhur, he has qualities which these criminals lack. He is a positive lawyer in court; it is very difficult to run a 'bad-livelihood' case against him on account of his influence with his respectable neighbours, and, when cornered, he fights, so that it needs good up-country police to deal with him—the very class that are not available in Orissa. The greatest mistake made up to the present in dealing with the Pans has been sending the long-term prisoners to the big central jails to mix with dangerous criminals, instead of keeping them at Cuttack, as was done formerly. These men stand out as leaders on their release, and all the Pan needs is a leader. Once organized into a gang the Native States police are quite incapable of dealing with them, and the lawlessness spreads to Angul, which borders on no less than seven States. This was what happened in 1902 with Nata Naik's gang. In October of that year a series of dacoities, two of them accompanied with murder, were committed by a mixed gang of Angul and Hindole Pans in Angul, Talcher and Hindole. The principal members of the gang were caught by the Angul police, and against four of them—(1) Nata Naik, (2) Surendra Naik, (3) Haladhar Naik, (4) Nata Naik, junior—a gang case success-

fully instituted and they were transported. These four men were as daring criminals as one could meet. They beat a Hindole head constable to death on the main road, and they were only caught by the Angul police after a stand-up fight, in which two constables were very roughly handled. While they were at large, nobody would travel on the Cuttack and Sambalpur road at night on account of the frequent cases of highway robbery. This gang had hardly been broken up when the Khondmal Pans began to give serious trouble, and a large gang of them, under the leadership of one Kusun Digal, practically held up the Khondmals for nearly two years, and were then only dealt with after a special police force had been sanctioned by Government for the purpose. Twenty-five members of this gang were eventually convicted to terms varying from twenty years' transportation to three years' rigorous imprisonment, and six 'receivers' of stolen property were also convicted.

After the exploits of Nata Naik's and Kusun Digal's gangs, it was decided that something must be done to control the Pans, so the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals sanctioned a set of rules drawn up by the Dputy Commissioner and District Superintendent of Police, Angul, which had for their object—

(1) The confining of all adult male Pans in each village in a single house ('kotghur') at night, under the eye of the village headman, who records their attendance at 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. in a register kept for the purpose, land-owners and any Pan who can get a respectable man to give a bond for him being exempt. The register is brought to the thana by the *chaukidār* on parade days, and the names of all absent Pans noted.

(2) The granting of the tickets-of-leave to all registered Pans who leave their villages for any length of time.

(3) The apprehension of strange Pans who come to a village without tickets. These men are sent to the *thana* with the *chaukidār* and made to give an account of themselves.

(4) The prosecution of Pans who absent themselves from the 'kotghur' under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, the onus of proving that they have not been committing crime being on them.

The rules have now been in force since 1903, and their effect as a check upon crime was immediate. In 1902 the

average number of cases a month in Angul sub-division was 33·0. In 1903 it fell to 30·7 and in 1904 to 17·3. In the Khondmals the effect of the rules is quite as marked, the figures being—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|----------|------|
| Average number of cases per month in 1902 ... | | | | | 16·1 |
| " | " | " | " | 1903 ... | 14·4 |
| " | " | " | " | 1904 ... | 8·0 |

The Khonds took to the new system enthusiastically and during the harvest season they depute some of the villagers to patrol the 'kotghurs' in turn all night, as they say this is simpler than sending many men to watch the different fields. These good results continue in the Khondmals, crime having practically ceased in this tract, except on the border of Ganjam, where foreign criminals come in. In Angul the system is giving more trouble to work, because the Angul *sarbarahkar* (headman) is so unreliable, and is not infrequently a 'receiver' of stolen property and in league with his Pans. The success or otherwise of the scheme depends entirely on the village headman, as the *chaukidars*, being themselves Pans, cannot be relied upon. The 'kotghur' registers are inspected by superior police officers when on tour; and headmen who are not writing up their registers or reporting absentees are sent to the Deputy Commissioner for punishment. A head constable has also been placed on special duty in Angul to supervise the working of 'kotghurs,' but an officer of this stamp is not suitable for such work. A sub-inspector should be placed on special duty, under the Angul and Khondmals Inspectors, for this work only, as it is essential that the headmen be kept up to the mark if the system is to be worked at all.

Confining the Pans in beat houses at night is not a new idea in these parts, but a revival of an old custom of the Tributary States Rajas. It requires, however, constant and extensive supervision to be satisfactory, and should, if the effect is to be permanent, be worked in conjunction with some scheme for inducing the Pans to take to cultivation, the 'kotghur' rules being strictly enforced, and the test for allowing a Pan to absent himself being that he is cultivating land. So long as practically the whole of the Pans are landless they will give trouble, even supposing they are kept in order in normal years of good harvest when labour is plentiful; they will assuredly go out of hand when there is scarcity. This was what happened in 1899-1900 in the Khondmals. Attached to every Khond village there is a small colony of Pans who perform

menial service. They are practically serfs and as such are fed and supported by the Khonds. In 1899-1900, when the famine came, and the Khonds had less than enough for themselves, they turned out the Pans, who immediately became wandering criminals, because a Pan will never patiently starve when he can steal. The Pans, however, are few in number in the Khondmals; but supposing famine were to visit a State like Dhenkanal, where a quarter of the population are Pans, there is not the slightest doubt that crime would increase in the most alarming manner, not only in Dhenkanal itself, but also in Angul and Cuttack. No Government can afford to have one-fourth of its population landless criminals, living from hand to mouth, and the reclamation of the Gurjat Pan is one of the most important and pressing administrative problems in the Tributary States.

Some years ago an attempt was made to start Pan settlements around Purnaghur, the then head-quarters of Angul. A certain amount of good land was acquired, and the Pans who were started upon it were supplied with ploughing cattle and a little money. The men selected were 'dagis' who had never cultivated and were averse to cultivation, and during a season of drought, when the harvest was bad, they sold their cattle and bolted. The experiences of Dom settlements in Gorakhpur and Champaran do not incline one to favour schemes of the above description; still Mr. Daly, the then District Superintendent of Police, Angul, has recorded his opinion that the settlements were a failure, through neglect of supervision, and that if the Pans had been helped a little through the first bad years they would have settled down to cultivation. The Pan has everything against him when he tries to cultivate, for though there is abundance of land, only absolutely uncleared land is available for him, as most of the Chasas in Angul have taken up far more land than they cultivate, owing to the very light assessments on newly acquired land in this district. There is also a considerable amount of procedure before the land is granted, which means attending court and tipping *amlas* which the Pan cannot afford to do. The Chasas also object to the Pans cultivating and do everything they can do to hinder them. The result is that only from two to five per cent. of Pans really earn their living by cultivation, an extraordinarily small proportion in an entirely agricultural country.

It would pay Government and the Tributary States Rajas to be much more liberal with the Pans than they have been

in the past. The Chasas might be made to disgorge most of the lightly assessed land, and the Pans settled on it with *takāvi* advances which Government were prepared to write off as lost. The success or otherwise of such a policy would probably depend on the officer who worked it, but it is at all events worth trying. The above remarks may seem somewhat outside the province of a police report, but in reality it is not so, because practically all the crime in the Gurjats is committed by Pans, so that settlement of the Pans and prevention of crime are more or less synonymous terms.

APPENDIX IX.

Haburas.

The following account of the Haburas, taken from Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," is reproduced from the *Supplement to the Central Provinces Police Gazette* dated 22nd November 1905.

The Haburas are a vagrant thieving tribe, found chiefly in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duab. They are connected with the regular gipsy tribes of Sansiya and Bhatu. They have a traditional connection with the old ruined city of Noh-Khera to the north of pargana Jelasar, in the Etah District, where they frequently make their way during the rainy season to arrange marriage and other caste matters in a series of general tribal councils.

They claim their descent from the Chauhan Rajputs, who lived at Jartauli in the Aligarh District, and have a strong tribal council under a president who manages all caste business.

They are usually exogamous, though in some sub-divisions the only rule of exogamy is the prohibition of marrying in their own camp or horde. Up to the recent times they used to recruit the clan by kidnapping girls of other castes, and there seems good reason to believe that they still introduce in the tribe outcast women of other castes. For a virgin bride the price fixed by tribal custom is Rs. 25 to be paid by the father of the bridegroom, who also pays the expenses of the marriage feast. The feeling against inter-tribal immorality is strong, and a seducer of a married woman has to pay Rs. 120 before being re-admitted to caste. Girls before marriage enjoy considerable freedom, and a departure from strict virtue is not seriously noticed. Generally speaking though the women are not particularly virtuous, they are not habitually prostituted by their male relatives as are the women of other gipsy tribes. Widows and divorced women are remarried and their offsprings are regarded legitimate.

They both cremate and bury the dead. Those who can afford the cost of wood adopt the former, and the rest either bury the corpse or expose it in the jungle.

In religion they profess to be Hindus, but accept little or no service from the Brahmans. In some places when a boy reaches the age of twelve he is initiated before a Jogi and trained in thieving.

Religion.

In other places they worship Kali Bhawani. They observe the usual festivals—Salono, Holi, Diwāli, and Dasahara. They bathe in the Ganges in honour of the sacred dead.

In Aligarh it is reported that they are almost omnivorous, but will not eat the flesh of cows or donkeys. The only castes from whom they will not take any food are the Chamār, Bhangi, Dhobi and Kalar.

Social status and occupation.

They do not use any medicine, but when ill pray to Devi Zahir Pir. They have much fear of the Evil Eye, their remedy for which is to get a *fakir* or a *jogi* to blow on a vessel of water, which is then waved over the head of the patient. As a rule they are truthful among themselves, but lie to others to procure the release of a clansman. Their oaths are as follows:—The most binding is to light a lamp (*chirag*) and then blow it out. By this he means, "If I lie may my family be destroyed as I blow out the light." If a Habura can be induced to take this oath, he will never lie. Another form of oath is to cut the root of a *pipal* tree. The third is swearing by Devi.

The vagrant branch of the tribes supplies some of the most audacious criminals in the United Provinces. A recent report says: "They are the pest of the neighbourhoods which they frequent, are continuously pilfering, stealing standing crops, attacking carts and passengers along the road, committing robberies and even dacoities." The boys are trained at first in field robbery and are then taken out on excursions for the purpose of burglary. When they go to rob fields the gang consists of not less than twenty men. When out for the purpose of burglary, eight or nine go together. They seldom use violence except to save themselves from arrest and they never carry any weapon, except bludgeons. If a crime has been committed and traced to any horde, the chief immediately determines who are to be given up. Usually a compromise is made with the police; two out of six or three out of eight are made over to justice the rest escaping. All the chief does

Criminal habits.

is to repeat a form of words, and then taking two of the grains of wheat offered to the god, he places them on the head of the scapegoat. The oath of the brotherhood is upon him, and whether he be guilty or not, he confesses to the Magistrate or Judge and goes to the gallows or to a lifelong exile confident that his chief and brethren will, as they are bound, feed and protect his wife and children.

In Aligarh at the present day if a Habura is killed in the commission of a crime, his accomplices give his widow one hundred and fifty rupees; if he is only arrested, they have to support his wife and family until he is released. Neither men nor women wear any jewellery. They do not go long distances to commit crime, and in the daylight they can easily be identified as Haburas, because both men and women wear the modicum of clothes consistent with decency. They do not attempt to conceal their movements from the police; and if one of the gang be arrested, the headman will at once give notice of the fact. The only stolen property they bring into the camp is grain; jewellery, vessels, and clothes they conceal in earthen vessels and bury them in the neighbourhood of the encampment. They are generally supported by some landowner, who assists them in the disposal of stolen property and gets a commission of four annas in the rupee.

Argot.

Their argot—

| | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----------------|
| corn of all kinds | ... | kau. |
| bread | ... | tuk. |
| mother | ... | ai. |
| father | ... | babu. |
| son | ... | dikra. |
| daughter | ... | dikri. |
| wife | ... | dhaniyani. |
| husband | ... | dhanni. |
| son-in-law | ... | pahuna (guest). |
| vessels of all kinds | ... | tanwara. |
| clothes | ... | lugariya. |
| shoes | ... | khakra. |
| bullock | ... | dhanda. |
| cow | ... | jengariya. |
| go from here | ... | paro hind. |
| run away | ... | nasija. |
| policeman | ... | kapahi. |
| police officer | ... | mota modhana. |

APPENDIX X.

Jadua Brahmins.

The following are particulars regarding the *modus operandi* of a fraternity known as Jadua Brahmins, taken from the *Supplement to the Police Gazette, Lower Provinces*, dated 15th July 1904 and 31st March 1905.

In order to collect information for their depredations they open a small rice and dal shop in some village. One of them visits the village in the garb of a *mahant*. After he has been there a few hours, another one turns up disguised as a *zamindar* and represents to the villagers that he comes from some distant place. Seeing the *mahant* he expresses great joy and begins to worship him with such profound respect as to excite the curiosity of the villagers. The spurious *zamindar* tells them that the *mahant* possesses supernatural powers and gave him *sâris*, money and cattle. He presses the *mahant* to go with him to his home and the credulity of the villagers is worked up and used for swindling.

Their recognized *modus operandi* is usually as follows :— They start out in parties of three or four, and having ascertained by preliminary enquiry the whereabouts of any likely dupe, one of the party enters the village in the guise of a religious mendicant and taking up his quarters in the village pretends to devote himself to religious meditation. A second man generally accompanies him as a *chela*. The others of the party enter the village shortly after and go about inquiring if a very holy Brahmin has been seen. They go to the house of the intended dupe, who naturally asks why they are seeking the Brahmin, and they reply that they have come to do homage to him as he has turned their brass and silver ornaments to gold. The dupe at once goes with them in search of the Brahmin and is greatly impressed at the scene he witnesses between the 'Babaji' and his accomplices, and at once falls into the trap, saying he, too, has a quantity of silver that he would like to have turned into gold. The Brahmin pretends reluctance, but eventually yields to the dupe's entreaties and allows himself to be led to the house, where, with his *chela* he takes up his quarters in an inner room, dark and with a mud floor. A variety of tricks are now resorted to, to impress the

dupe with a sense of the magic powers of the swindlers. Sometimes he is directed to place a rupee on his forehead and go to the door and look at the sun for five minutes, being assured that when he returns the Brahmin will have disappeared by magic. Having looked at the sun for five minutes, naturally the dupe can see nothing on returning to a dark room, and expresses wonder at the Brahmin's disappearance and gradual reappearance as his (the dupe's) eyes get used to the darkness. Sometimes he is taken out at night to a *bagicha* outside the village, the Brahmin promising to show him the goddess Bhagwati or any other selected deity, who is duly represented by one of the confederates and promises all good fortune to the dupe.

The silver ornaments, all that can be collected, are made over to the Brahmin, who pretends to tie them in a cloth and bury them in the floor of the room. He then calls for *ghi*, oil and incense, and lights a fire over the place where they are said to be buried and bids the dupe watch over it closely for several hours or some days until he, the Brahmin, returns. The Brahmin and his *chela* with the silver concealed about them then leave the village, join their confederates, and make their escape. The dupe patiently watches the fire, until tired of waiting for the Brahmin's return, he digs up the earth and finds nothing in the cloth but stones and rubbish.

This is an outline of the trick as usually practised, but there may be many varieties of it. When the dupe possesses gold ornaments, these are obtained in the same way by a promise that they will be doubled.

The Jadua Brahmins of Alamgunge are all nominally under police surveillance.

APPENDIX XI.

Counterfeit Coins.

Mr. F. H. Vincent, of the Indian Police, Bombay Presidency, gives the following hints on the detection of counterfeit coins.

Counterfeits are of two kinds, cast and die-struck. The majority of cast coin are made of base metal like tin, pewter or even lead or an admixture of one or more of these with a very small quantity of copper.

Cast coins. The spuriousness of such inferior cast coins is immediately established by their colour. The colour of genuine rupees, either fresh from the mint or after they have been in circulation, is very distinctive and hence a glance at them enables us to pick out inferior cast coins. Secondly, such coins are softer than genuine ones. Thirdly, their ring is dull. These three tests are, as a rule, sufficient to enable us to detect such inferior cast coins. There are also other signs which often enable us to positively assert that a counterfeit is a cast one, for these it is advisable to provide oneself with a magnifying glass and examine the suspected coin closely by means of it, comparing it with a genuine coin, for preference of the same year's coinage. The surface will, as a rule, be found to be more or less 'pitted,' that is to say, covered with very small holes, the lettering will not stand out so sharply and clearly as on a genuine coin; the finer detail apparent on the design of a genuine coin will be wanting and small excrescences and flaws are almost always present.

Colour and other simple tests. In further confirmation it is only necessary to turn to the milling. This instead of being regularly spaced, even, of uniform depth, and of a definite number of serrations for particular years of coinage, will be found to differ in one or all of these details. In bad specimens the milling right round the coin is defective, in better ones only that portion where the strip of metal representing the channel of the mould has been cut off, and in the best class of counterfeits in which the milling has probably been impressed by some implement, such as a milling tool, one must rely on touch and on counting the number of serrations in order to obtain a clue to their spuriousness.

Having examined a coin as to colour, hardness, ring and surface finish, we may now turn to the more scientific tests. Of these the simplest and the only one capable of easy application is that of weighment. Fine balances weighing to a fraction of a grain are not always at hand and perhaps the simplest method of checking the weight is to weigh the suspected coin against a number of other coins, preferably of the same year's coinage, using a goldsmith's balance. If in all or even the majority of cases it does not tally with the genuine rupees used, it may safely be looked upon as a counterfeit.

Further tests such as specific gravity or assay, we need not trouble ourselves with, they are best left in the hands of experts, to whom in all cases of doubt coins should be submitted for final inspection.

Totally distinct from the cast coins, both in their method of manufacture and in their appearance, are die-struck counterfeits. Whereas a cast coin is prepared by the metal being melted and poured into the mould, usually of sand or clay, a die-struck coin is made by the impression being struck on to discs of metal by means of metal dies.

In the former process the mould is usually injured after one or two castings, hence it is broken up again and remade preparatory to further castings. In the latter process coins can be struck so long as the dies last, a variable period depending on the material they are made of and the method and manner in which the blow is struck. Die-struck counterfeits can be divided into two classes: those made by means of dies engraved by hand and those by means of dies on to which the impression has been transferred.

Engraving is an art known to very few and it is a safe assertion to make that no die has been engraved by a counterfeiter that would pass any but the most casual scrutiny. Innumerable specimens of counterfeits prepared from engraved dies have come to hand and each and all show certain pronounced defects of which the following are the most common:—

Harshness or hardness of outline and detail. Want of relief. Incorrect lettering or inversion of some letters, more frequently an 'N'. Much of the fine detail of the reverse is also lost and

such a counterfeit requires only one glance to enable one to classify it at once as struck from engraved dies.

On the other hand, counterfeits which have been struck from dies prepared by the other method, ^{Superior dies.} exhibit none of these signs and are in every way superior to coins made from such rough engraved dies. They show most, if not all, the finer detail. They are bound to be exact copies, as the impression on the dies was obtained from a genuine coin and they therefore do not show any marked irregularities or mistakes in the features or lettering.

Their fault however lies in want of relief. The lettering ^{Their faults.} also does not stand out as square as that of a genuine coin. Both these faults are in a great measure due to insufficient force being used when the coin is struck. Nearly all such coins exhibit some one flaw which will repeat itself in all struck from the same set of dies and if a number of coins are found all possessing any such flaw we have positive proof of the same set of dies having been used. This of course applies equally to coins struck from hand-engraved dies, as to those prepared from the other class. Common flaws in the latter class are small dots or marks from cracks in the dies.

A sign by which a counterfeit can occasionally be distinguished from a genuine coin is in the non-correspondence of the axes of the obverse and reverse. If a genuine coin is taken between the thumb and the first finger so that an imaginary line passes through the centre of the design of the reverse, and the coin rotated, the head of the obverse will be found correctly and squarely placed. In counterfeits such is often not the case, the fault being due to incorrect adjustment of the dies.

Another sign which immediately exposes a counterfeit is sometimes forthcoming when corresponding dies of the same year have not been used and though such carelessness or indifference may seem extraordinary, yet frequent instances have come to notice. This error becomes particularly glaring when an obverse prior to the year 1877 which contains the inscription "Victoria Queen" is used with a reverse giving a year of coinage subsequent to this date or *vice versa*. It is therefore well to remember that coins up to and including 1876 should have the inscription "Victoria Queen," subsequent

to that date "Victoria Empress." From 1903 onwards coins bear the inscription "Edward VII, King and Emperor."

As regards examination of die-struck counterfeits we of course have again recourse to the tests given under cast coins. Unless made of the proper alloy, their colour will again give us a good indication and due attention must also be paid to the ring, milling and weight.

It must at the same time be remembered that none of these tests are infallible and that a coin may exhibit any of the faults above enumerated and yet be a genuine mint struck coin.

In such a case the coin is either mint defective or has been maltreated. If a coin is by rare chance found which does not ring at all, it may almost with certainty be looked upon as genuine, though mint defective. Firstly, no coiner would make or pass a coin which did not ring at all, and secondly, ocular proof in furtherance of the above statement can usually be found on careful examination of such 'dead' coin, for the edge at some part or other will show a hair-like fissure, or in pronounced cases will even have slightly opened out. Both are sure indications that the coin in its first stage of manufacture was subjected to heavy rolling and hence passed through the mint. Exposure to certain fumes, to fire, burial in the ground, conversion to an ornament and constant circulation, are also factors to be taken into consideration as they all affect a coin and may alter its colour, ring, milling and weight, but such influences will generally make themselves apparent by other indications as well.

APPENDIX XII.

Counterfeit Coins.

The following hints on detecting counterfeit rupees, taken from the *Madras Police Gazette* dated 17th November 1906, will be found interesting and instructive.

(1) A suspected coin should, if possible, be compared with two genuine coins of the same description and examined in a good light.

(2) When rung on a stone slab or similar hard surface, a genuine coin should give a clear high note. Counterfeits do not, as a rule, ring well.

(3) The colour of the coin should be scrutinised, a brassy or dull leaden appearance would generally point to the coin being counterfeit. Some counterfeits have a peculiar glazed appearance. A genuine coin should be silvery and dull or bright according to the treatment it has received.

(4) In a genuine coin the thickness at the rim is made the same all round. In counterfeit coins the rim is sometimes thicker at one point than another (especially in the case of *struck* counterfeits), and the coin itself may be slightly bent or distorted.

(5) The rim of a genuine coin is regularly milled all the way round with straight lines at right angles to the faces. All rupees minted since 1904 have 150 serrations or teeth in the milling. In counterfeits the lines of the milling are often at a slant, the distances between the lines are irregular and the lines (or ridges) themselves uneven and broken. This is a most important test. The milling can best be examined by placing the suspected coin between two good ones (of the same description), so that the rims of all the three are close together and can be seen at the same time. Defects can be readily detected.

(6) The beading on the inner side of the rim of the coin should be even and regular all round, the pearls being uniform in size and shape, and equi-distant from each other. On counterfeits the pearls are often badly shaped, uneven in size and spaced at irregular intervals. A peculiarity of some counterfeits is that the pearls are very small and far apart, but this is also the case in some genuine coins of 1840.

(7) The devices on the obverse and reverse should be clear and well-defined. Blurred lines or edges and an imperfect impression (unless plainly due to wear and tear) are suspicious.

(8) Letters and figures of the inscription should be clear, well-defined and sharp-edged. Blurred, irregular or double lines are to be regarded with suspicion. In some counterfeits the letters are much thinner than on genuine coins.

(9) The plain surface of the coin (*i. e.*, the portion not occupied by device or inscription) should be smooth, even and free from blemish. An uneven, spotted or rough surface is suspicious.

(10) The edges of the rim should be smooth to the touch. Rough, jagged edges are suspicious.

(11) All cast coins are counterfeits. In a cast coin the surfaces may be granulated or pitted with minute pin-holes which appear as black spots to the naked eye, but can be felt with the point of a needle or pin. The milling is often defective, especially at the point where the metal was poured into the mould. The letters and figures in cast coins nearly always present a rounded appearance instead of having square, sharp edges.

(12) A counterfeit coin will generally be found to exhibit at least two of the faults indicated above. A coin should not be condemned for only one fault unless it is very marked.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Descriptive matter of Plate I.

Ex. 31.

Dhārja carried by Gujerat criminals.

Ex. 29.

Bhil's bow and arrows.

Ex. 44.

Pungi or blow-gourd forming part of Kaikadi's (Pámlor's and Kall Kórva's) disguise.

Ex. 55.

Mina *gyán* or house-breaking instrument.

Ex. 54.

Vánsi carried by Kolis and Vágghris of Gujerat.

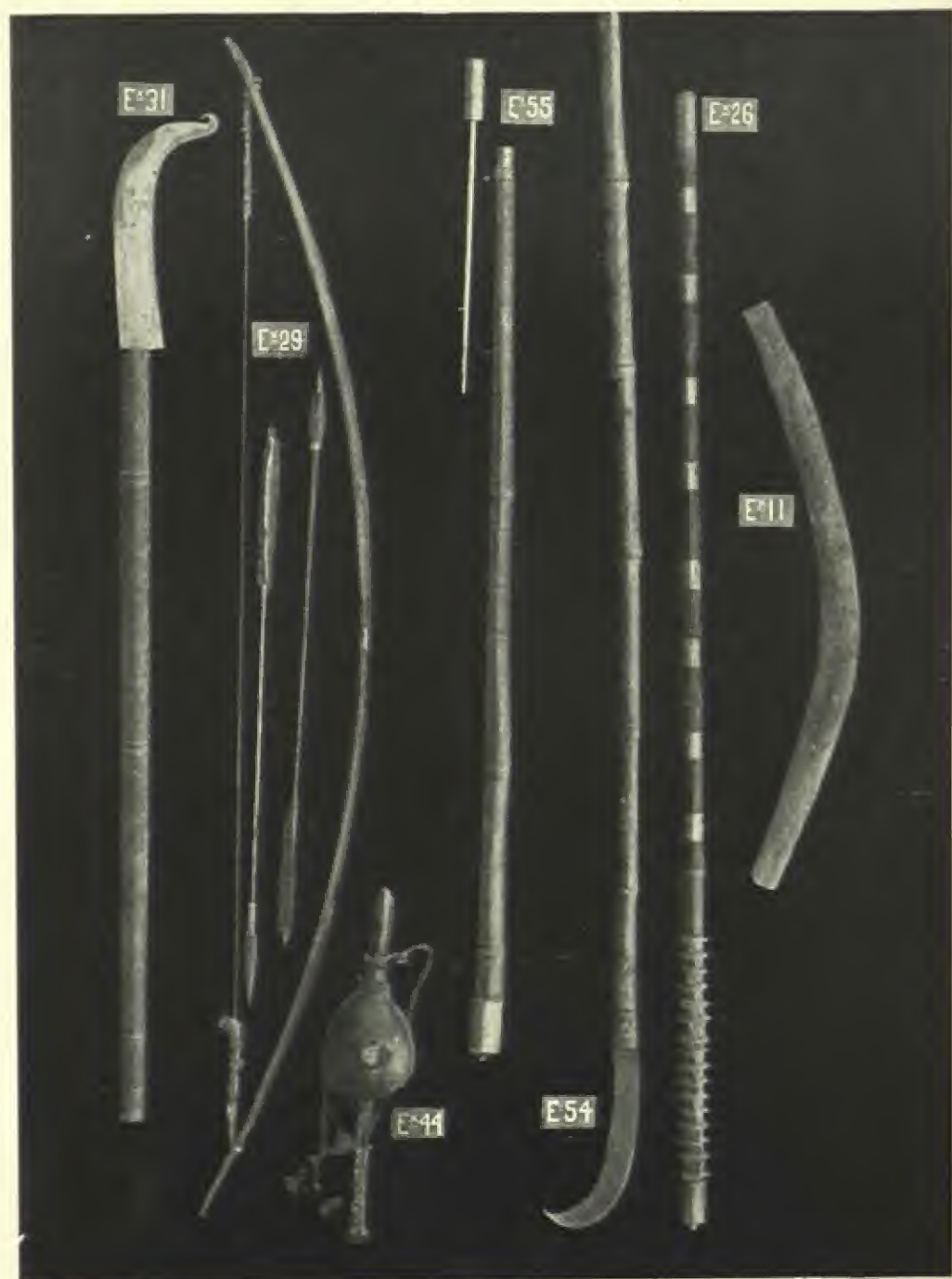
Ex. 26.

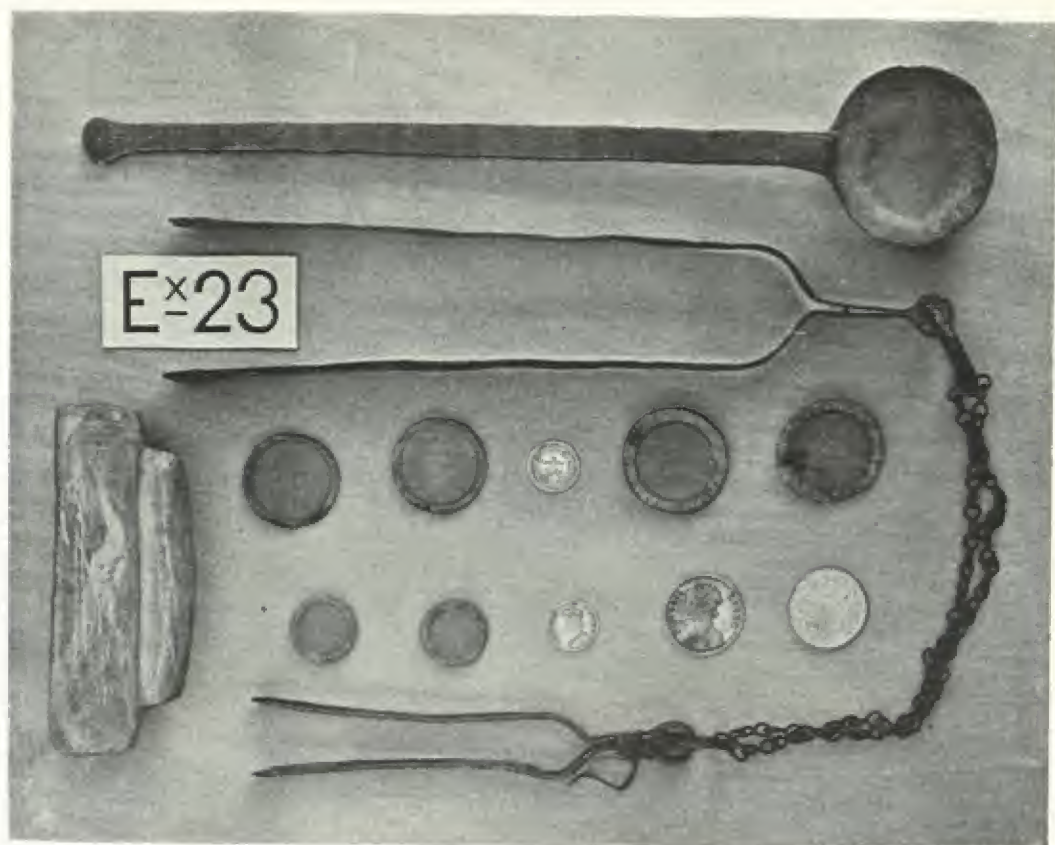
Kariyali dhāng carried by Kolis and Vágghris of Gujerat.

Ex. 11.

Gujerat Koli's *kdtor* or boomerang.

PLATE I.





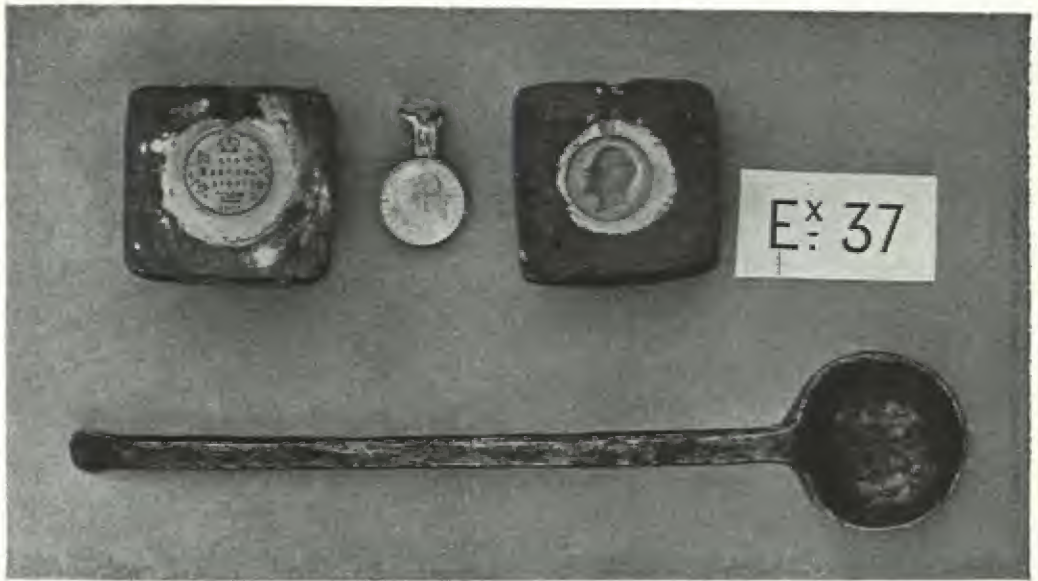
Ex. 23.

Part of Chhapparband's paraphernalia. *Palli* or iron spoon, tongs, moulds for counterfeiting rupees and 8-anna pieces, some of the coin turned out and clay shaped like a *durgah*.



Chhapparband's characteristic mould, taken from a drawing.

PLATE III.



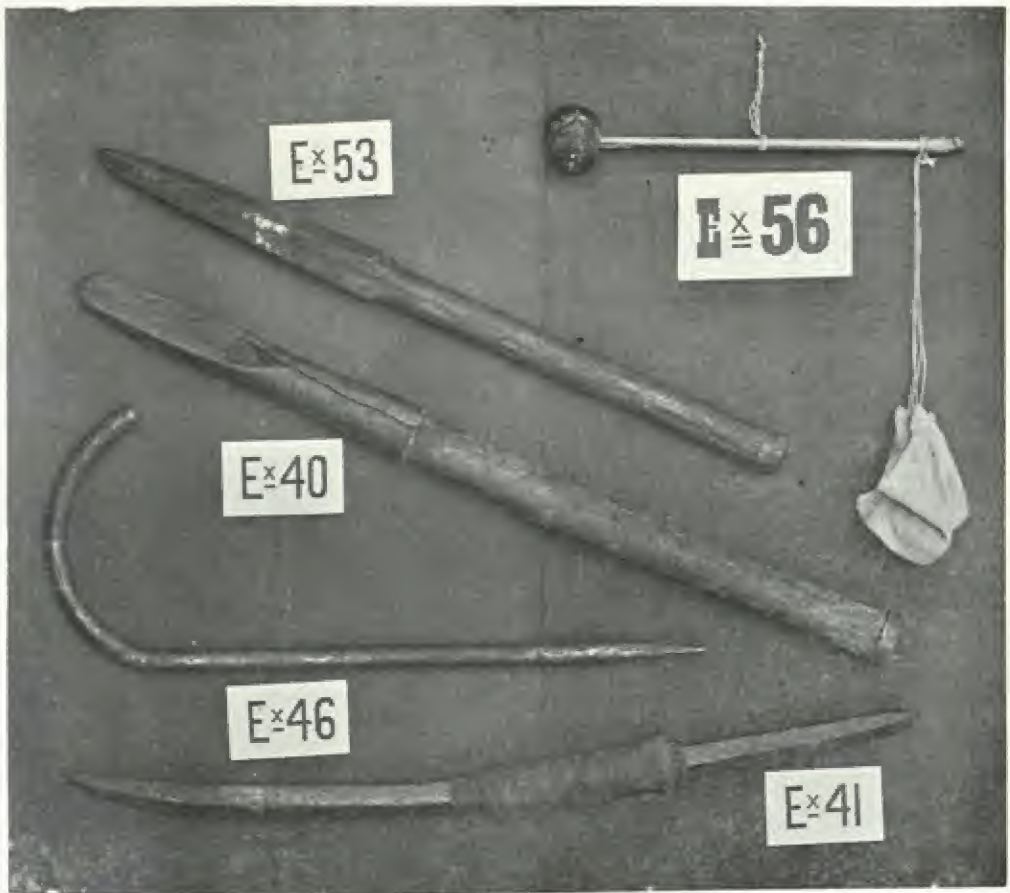
Ex. 37.

Márwár Báori's mould, counterfeit rupee in the rough and *palli* or ladle.



Márwár Báori's characteristic mould, taken from a drawing.

PLATE IV.



Ex. 53.

Kungatti : Kaikádi's Waddar's and Berad's jemmy in the Carnatic.

Ex. 56.

Bauriah's makeshift scales.

Ex. 40.

Jemmy common among nomadic tribes living in páls.

Ex. 46.

Khátariyá : Gujerat Koli's and Vághri's jemmy.

Ex. 41.

Arasukuchi : Berad's jemmy.

PLATE V.



Ex. 52.

Slings, *khantad* (jimmy) and knives carried by Kanjars.

PLATE VI.



Ex. 20.

Bauriah burglar's knife, waxed taper, ball of wax and *gyàn* (jemmy).

Ex. 38.

Oudhia's bamboo fork for lifting window and door fastenings, *gyàns* and tongs.

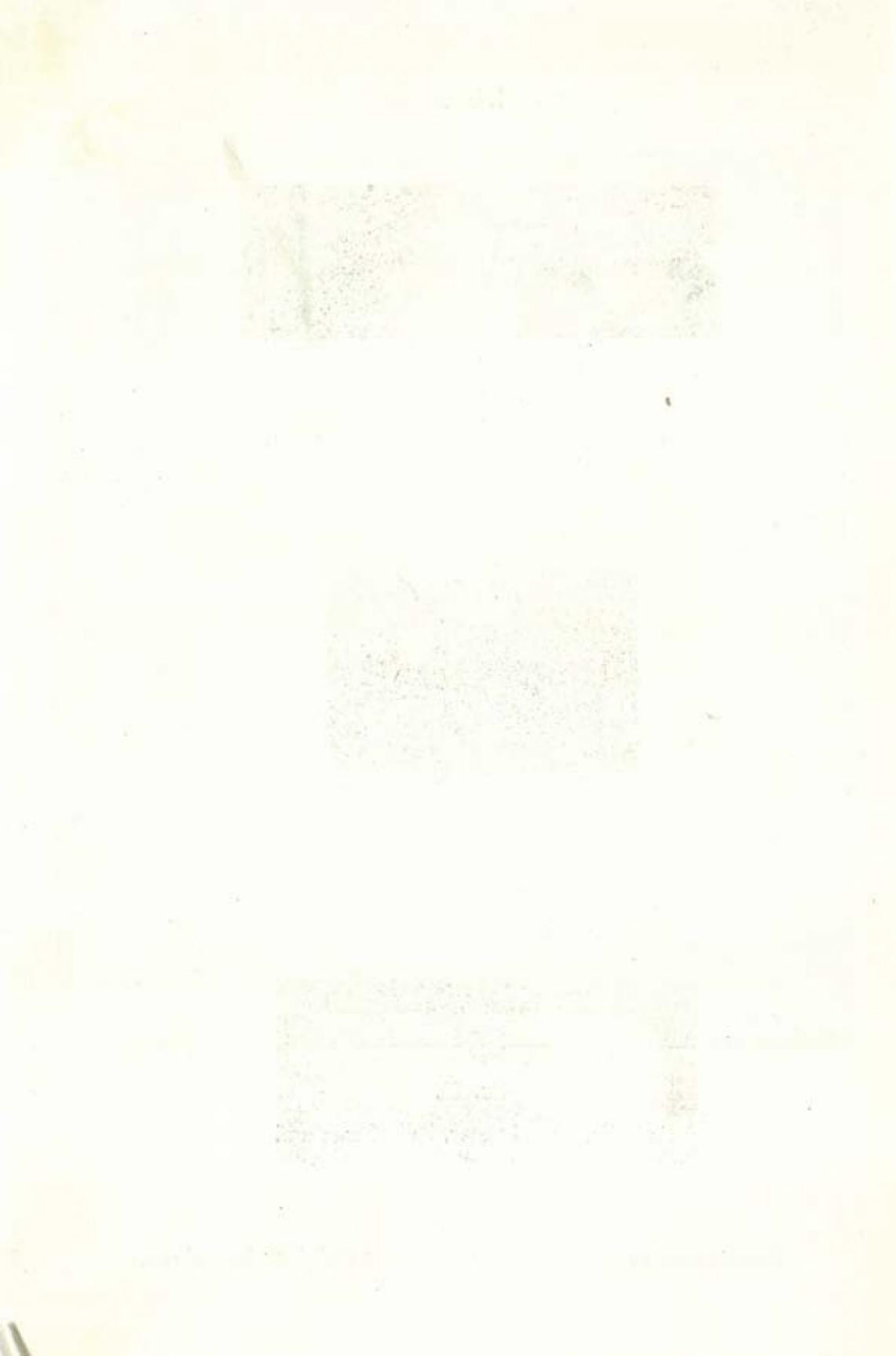


PLATE VII.



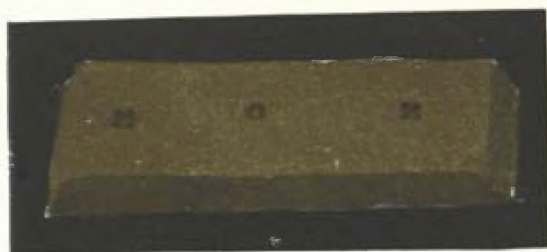
Ex. 42.

Korne (chunam scraper) carried by Bhamptas for picking locks (actual size).



Ex. 10.

Bhampta's *ulmukhs* or curved knives (actual size)



Ex. 50.

Piece of metal made to look like a bar of gold, used by Vāghri cheats (actual size).



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